

DEFENCE  
AND  
DIPLOMACY

---

IN PURSUIT OF NATIONAL SECURITY

VOL. 2 NO. 2 • JANUARY-MARCH 2013



## DEFENCE AND DIPLOMACY

CENTRE FOR AIR POWER STUDIES

New Delhi

*DEFENCE AND DIPLOMACY* is published quarterly by the Centre for Air Power Studies, New Delhi, established under an independent trust titled Forum for National Security Studies registered in 2002 in New Delhi.

### Board of Trustees

Shri **M.K. Rasgotra**, former Foreign Secretary and former High Commissioner to the UK **Chairman**  
Air Chief Marshal **O.P. Mehra**, PVSM, former Chief of the Air Staff and former Governor  
Maharashtra and Rajasthan

Air Chief Marshal **S.P. Tyagi**, PVSM AVSM VM, former Chief of the Air Staff  
**Secretary (Defence Finance)** (Ex-Officio) Ministry of Defence 139 South Block New Delhi.

Dr. **Sanjaya Baru**, former Media Advisor to the Prime Minister and  
currently Research Professor, CPR

Captain **Ajay Singh**, VP (ops), Jet Lite Airways, Flight Inspector DGCA, former Deputy  
Director Air Defence, Air HQ

Air Commodore **Jasjit Singh**, former Director IDSA

**Managing Trustee**

DEFENCE AND DIPLOMACY Journal welcomes research articles on defence, military affairs and strategy (especially air power and space issues) of contemporary and historical interest. Articles in the Journal reflect the views and conclusions of the authors and not necessarily the opinions or policy of the Centre or any other institution.

**Editor-in-Chief**

Air Commodore Jasjit Singh AVSM VrC VM (Retd)

**Consulting Editor**

Lt Col R Ghose, SM (Retd)

**Distributor**

KW Publishers Pvt. Ltd.

All correspondence may be addressed to

Consulting Editor

DEFENCE AND DIPLOMACY

Arjan Path, Subroto Park, New Delhi 110 010

Telephone: (91.11) 25699131-32 Fax: (91.11) 25682533 e-mail: [diroffice@aerospaceindia.org](mailto:diroffice@aerospaceindia.org)

website: [www.aerospaceindia.org](http://www.aerospaceindia.org)

© Centre for Air Power Studies

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying, recording or by any information storage and retrieval system without written permission from the Director, Centre for Air Power Studies, New Delhi

DEFENCE AND DIPLOMACY Journal is published four times a year and is distributed by **KW Publishers Pvt. Ltd.**

4676/21, First Floor, Ansari Road, Daryaganj, New Delhi 110 002

Telefax: 23263498 e-mail: [knowledgeworld@vsnl.net](mailto:knowledgeworld@vsnl.net)

Printed and Published by Air Cmde Jasjit Singh (Retd) on behalf of the Forum for National Security Studies (the Trust running the Centre for Air Power Studies, New Delhi) and Printed by Aegean Offset Printers, 220B, Udyog Kendra-1, Greater Noida (UP)-201306 and Published at P-284, Arjan Path, Subroto Park, New Delhi 110 010. Editor: Air Commodore Jasjit Singh (Retd).

#### Subscription Rates

India	₹ 225.00 (single issue)	₹ 800.00 (4 issues)
Overseas	US\$ 35.00 (single issue)	US\$ 130.00 (4 issues)

RNI NO. DELENG/2012/41043

# CONTENTS

Editor's Note	V
1. India-South Korea Defence Cooperation: Bolstering a Strategic Hedge <i>Yeon Jung Ji</i>	1
2. India's Strategic Environment: Application of Grand Strategy <i>Prateek Kapil</i>	13
3. Air Power in the Libyan Crisis <i>Indrani Talukdar</i>	25
4. The Dragon Awakens: China and its Soft Power <i>Stuti Banerjee</i>	35
5. India's Role in Rebuilding Afghanistan: Realities And Challenges <i>K.N. Tennyson</i>	47
6. China's Footprint in South Asia: A Concern for India <i>Sana Hashmi</i>	59
7. Politics of Ethnicity in Afghanistan: Understanding the Pashtuns and the Minor Ethnic Groups <i>Rhea Abraham</i>	69
8. The Impasse in Iran <i>Kanica Rakhra</i>	83

CONTENTS

---

9. India-China Relations:  
The Way Forward Through Renewable Energy Diplomacy 91  
*Dhanasree Jayaram*
10. Upheavals in the Arab World:  
Implication for India's Foreign Policy 101  
*Lunthuiyang Riamei*
11. IAF in MOOTW: Capacity Building an Immediate Priority 111  
*Nishant Gupta*
12. Finding Limits to the Sino-Pak Nuclear Nexus 121  
*Manpreet Sethi*

## EDITOR'S NOTE

It is clear that China is rising but so is India and in all earnest it will be seen that in the interest of the world that these two countries build a cooperative relationship. India's outreach efforts to build cooperative partnerships in the region and beyond may create concerns in China but it is in national interest that we must cater for reversals in bilateral relations with China, and therefore, must cater for increased levels of defence capabilities. While India pursues the "Look East" policy it cannot afford to ignore intensifying concerns in West Asia that have varied implications for the growth story of this country. India's involvement in Afghanistan will be observed with keen intensity not only by China and Pakistan but also by the U.S. though the bilateral assistance programmes and leadership on private sector investment has been acknowledged in promoting regional and economic linkages.

Strengthening of economic relations and building on political ties are just among the few that can be viewed as firm steps to create and maintain the confidence of the country's influence and assertiveness in the region. It is proof enough that in spite of India's reluctance, the neighbouring countries opted to support China's status as an observer nation in SAARC. There should presumably be a sense of urgency for India to keep extending its influence as an equitable measure to counter any under-confidence that may be stemming in.

Without embarking on the oft discussed issue of nuclear nexus and proliferation, it would be apt to state that the assertions of air power as the effective instrument of choice in the exercise of cooperative foreign policy and coercive diplomacy have been adequately experienced, and so its predominance. I am happy to note

the enthusiastic readership of this fledgling journal and acknowledge the encouraging and growing response.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'L. J. ...', with a horizontal line underneath.

# INDIA-SOUTH KOREA DEFENCE COOPERATION: BOLSTERING A STRATEGIC HEDGE

YEON JUNG JI

As a significant step in strengthening the India-Korea strategic partnership, New Delhi opened a defence wing in Seoul on November 6, 2012, anticipating the possibility of altering the geo-political realities in Asia. This initiative has drawn attention from other neighbouring countries. In tune with nurturing defence cooperation between India and South Korea, the two players seem to have not only become bigger stakeholders in Asia, but also to have taken a position that provides aligned priorities on designing a strategic hedge against rivals of both countries. A series of interactions and achievements propelled by the two countries during the last few years has provided momentum and thrust to this partnership. Keeping in mind the regional geo-political underpinnings, will this nascent strategic cooperation lead to a greater and responsive high-technology collaboration?

## **A HEALTHY TURNOUT**

A number of fruitful outcomes have recently been disclosed in the defence arena. After the strategic partnership was signed by Indian Prime Minister Dr Manmohan Singh, and his counterpart, South

---

Yeon Jung Ji is a Visiting Fellow at the Centre for Air Power Studies, New Delhi.

Korea President, Lee Myung-bak, in January 2010, two Memoranda of Understanding (MoU) followed in September. The first MoU, signed by Defence Ministers Mr A.K. Antony of India and Mr Kim Tae-young of South Korea, is an exchange of defence related experience and information that broadly covers visits by military personnel and experts, military education, training and exercises, and exchange of visits by ships and aircraft.<sup>1</sup> The second MoU, authorised by Dr Prahlada, Chief Controller of Research and Development (R&D), Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO) of India and Mr Kwon Oh Bong, Vice Commissioner, Defence Acquisition and Procurement Agency (DAPA) of South Korea, identifies futuristic defence technology and pursues R&D for mutual interest.<sup>2</sup>

Since then, vibrant discussions on defence cooperation have been on the right track, including space cooperation, nuclear projects, and science and technology. The amiable interaction started with an MoU on defence logistics and supplies in 2005. A ministerial consultation on “matters of mutual interest” regarding a joint programme involving the armed forces and navy in 2007 was earmarked.<sup>3</sup>

### *Defence Cooperation in the Broader Spectrum*

In February 2012, DAPA hosted a Korea-India Cooperative Defence Research and Development Committee that met in collaboration with DRDO. Samsung Techwin, another Korean defence industry, was invited to explore the larger possibility of collaboration in the meeting.<sup>4</sup> Keen interest from both sides was amply confirmed when the South Korean President held a meeting with the Indian Prime Minister during the Nuclear Security Summit in March. During the talks, New Delhi expressed willingness to post military defence attachés in a reciprocal manner, and agreed to launch a Korean

- 
1. “Ministry of Defence, India and South Korea Sign two Landmark MoUs to Boost Defence Cooperation,” Press Information Bureau, Government of India, September 3, 2010.
  2. Ibid.
  3. “India-South Korea Relations: The Prospects of Defence Industry,” <http://voiceof.india.com/features/india-south-korea-relations-the-prospects-of-defence-industry/1249>
  4. Shamila Janakiraman, “India-Korea Science and Technology Cooperation”, *Business & Technology*, September 17, 2012, <http://www.biztechreport.com/story/2045-india-korea-science-and-technology-cooperation>

satellite.<sup>5</sup> Responding in a positive manner, Seoul looked forward to India's allocation of the site for a Korean reactor, and to augmented cooperation in the defence industry.

Unlike some states that have decreased their defence budgets due to the economic recession, India and South Korea have remained major players in the arms trade. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI, 2011), from 2006 to 2010, major recipients of arms transfers were located in Asia; India ranked as the largest importer, with 9 percent of the world's arms transfers, and South Korea held 6 percent.<sup>6</sup> Therefore, if India and South Korea were to strengthen their defence industry by sharing defence science and technology, it may change the world arms trade market.

This seems even more possible after India appointed the first resident Defence Attaché, Col Ajay Chanpuria, in Seoul, in November 2012.<sup>7</sup> Though no further information is available publicly, this small step suggests that it will lead to larger and more intensive defence cooperation between the two countries. In initiating steps to open a defence wing in March 2012, both governments stated that a shared view of foreign and security issues would explore joint ventures in the defence industry, science and technology, space security, and nuclear projects. The joint statement also clearly elaborated that this would not have a negative impact on other bilateral relationships.<sup>8</sup> However, given the complex security environment in the Asia-Pacific, the strategic cooperation between the two countries is bound to attract the attention of other key players, namely, China, North Korea, and Japan.

Along with the defence wing earmarked in Seoul, India decided to purchase eight Mine Counter-Measures Vessels (MCMVs) from Kangnam, a South Korean company, on June 10, 2012. Within this

5. "As Trade Soars, India and Korea Push 'Strategic' Side to Ties", *The Hindu*, March 25, 2012.

6. "14 March 2011: India World's Largest Arms Importer According to New SIPRI Data on International Arms Transfers". *SIPRI*, March 14, 2011, <http://www.sipri.org/media/pressreleases/2011/armstransfers>

7. "India Opens Defence Wing at Seoul", *Defence Now*, November 6, 2012, <http://www.defencenow.com/news/997/india-opens-defence-wing-at-seoul-embassy.html>

8. "India-South Korea Defence Relations Won't Impact China", *Headlines India*, March 25, 2012, <http://headlinesindia.mapsofindia.com/india-and-world/international-affairs/indiasouth-korea-defence-relations-wont-impact-china-ties-105045.html>

context, the contract worth Rs. 6,000 crore covers two vessels directly transported from the firm and six vessels that will be manufactured at the Goa Shipyard after the technology transfer.<sup>9</sup> The MCMV has high-definition sonars and acoustic and magnetic sweeps that enable the detection and detonation of drift mines. As part of the Indian Navy's MCMV project to secure the Indian harbours, both sides welcomed the idea of a deal against underwater mines planted by state and non-state actors.

On June 28, 2012, the Second India-South Korea Foreign Policy and Security Dialogue was held to evaluate the progress of the strategic partnership and discuss bilateral and regional issues.<sup>10</sup> Mr Sanjay Singh, Secretary of the Ministry of External Affairs, and Mr Ahn Ho-young, First Vice Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, exchanged optimistic views on the joint naval exercise held on June 2, 2012, in Busan.<sup>11</sup> The joint naval training exercise proposed by India successfully reached maritime rescue and anti-terrorism exercise goals.<sup>12</sup> Following a series of events, Korean Minister of Defence, Kim Kwan-jin, undertook a two-days official visit to New Delhi, where he received a Guard of Honour by the Indian Military Tri-Service. Overall, the bilateral relationship between the two countries has made confident strides, and the comprehensiveness of the relationship was extended to a strategic partnership in 2010. Indeed, the brisk Delhi-Seoul strategic ties indicate a clear desire to evolve principles on collective defence for fostering peace and stability.

### *Space Cooperation*

The joint statement of the Indo-Korean strategic partnership of January 2010 marked space cooperation with the signing of an MoU. Mr K. Radhakrishnan, Chairman of the Indian Space Research Organisation (ISRO), and Mr Joo-Jin Lee, President of the Korean Aerospace Research Institute (KARI), signed a pact for cooperation

9. "India to Buy 8 Warships from South Korea", *The Times of India*, June 10, 2012,

10. "India-ROK Hold Their 2<sup>nd</sup> Policy and Security Dialogue, Evaluate Bilateral Progress", *The Diplonews*, June 28, 2012. [http://www.diplonews.com/feeds/free/28\\_June\\_2012\\_65.php](http://www.diplonews.com/feeds/free/28_June_2012_65.php)

11. "Joint Exercise of Indian and S. Korean Naval Warships in Busan", *Business Standard*, May 31, 2012.

12. "India, S. Korea to Hold Joint Naval Exercise", *Outlook*, May 31, 2007.

in the peaceful uses of outer space for enhancing the capabilities of remote probes and the development of space science.<sup>13</sup> India's interest in the space programme commenced in early 1960 – much earlier than South Korea's initiative in the 1980s. This elevated India to the status of a leading country in space power, planning a mission to the Moon and Mars. India and South Korea have launched 45 and 12 payloads into orbit since 1975 and 1992, respectively. Considering the recent space programme budget of US\$ 1.45 billion, India is expected to launch a total of 50 satellites within a decade.<sup>14</sup> In anticipation of getting their commercial launching plan up and running, South Korea invested nearly US\$ 200 million in 2012.<sup>15</sup> During his visit in 2012, Dr Manmohan Singh, Prime Minister of India, offered an indigenous launch vehicle for the South Korean satellite, to discover priority areas of cooperation.<sup>16</sup>

Anticipating the development of South Korea's space programme, its outer space collaboration with India attracted a positive response in Korea. KARI is developing the Korea Space Launch Vehicle (KSLV); however, South Korea is restricted to a missile range not exceeding 800 km, as per its agreement with the US in 2012, that restrains the indigenous rocket-launching programme.<sup>17</sup> While seeking advanced space capability, an extended missile range of up to 800 km and a payload of 500 kg does not appear sufficient for full-fledged space science. While the limits of the military or commercial purposes of the programmes are yet to be defined, the India-South Korea space cooperation has received a positive response from both countries.

In addition, space cooperation in the development of rockets and satellites might take longer than expected. New Delhi is not a member of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), a voluntary international regime. During the Nuclear Security Summit

---

13. Ministry of Education, Science and Technology, "MOU for Cooperation in the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space", Press release, March 26, 2010, Republic of Korea.

14. <http://www.spacenews.com/article/indian-space-budget-boost-supports-existing-programs#.UPbTu29tiqQ>

15. "South Korea Readies Third Bid to Join Global Space Club", *Times Live*, October 25, 2012, <http://www.timeslive.co.za/scitech/2012/10/25/south-korea-readies-third-bid-to-join-global-space-club>

16. "India Offers to Launch South Korea Satellites", *IBN Live*, March 25, 2012. <http://ibnlive.in.com/news/india-offers-to-launch-south-korean-satellites/242534-3.html>

17. "South Korea Says US Agrees to Extend Seoul's Ballistic Missile Range", *CNN*, October 7, 2012.

in March 2012, the Indian Prime Minister requested the South Korean President to support India's membership to the Nuclear Suppliers Group (NSG) and MTCR.<sup>18</sup>

### *Science and Technology*

In 2010, India and South Korea invested US\$ 24.8 billion and 41 billion respectively in science and technology.<sup>19</sup> The MoU between DRDO of India and DAPA of South Korea encouraged cooperation in fundamental and futuristic defence technology. The MoU aims at identifying prior tasks of mutual, immediate interest, such as marine systems, electronics, and intelligence system extras.<sup>20</sup>

Since technology plays a critical role in defence by combining the defence sector with the civilian field, this area calls for a potential outcome through strong bilateral ties. In the collaborative area of science and technology, the bilateral relationship has gradually improved. In December 2009, Dr A. K. Sood, Director of the Department of Science and Technology (DST) of India, and his counterpart, Dr Hong Thomas Hahn, President of the Korean Institute of Science and Technology (KIST), exchanged positive responses to the conceptualisation of the Global Knowledge Platform (GKP) and substantial research agendas.<sup>21</sup> In 2010, the Indo-Korea Science and Technology Centre in Bangalore was established in collaboration with the Korea Research Council of Fundamental Science and Technology (KRCF), which leads 13 domestic science institutions.<sup>22</sup> As a milestone for the bilateral relationship, former Indian President A.P.J. Abdul Kalam discussed the implications of joint research ventures on futuristic technologies, such as solar thermal systems, high-end technologies in spacecraft, an advanced aerospace system adopting bio-and nano-technology, etc.<sup>23</sup>

---

18. n. 5.

19. "India's New Science Policy 'A Joke'", *Hindustan Times*, January 4, 2013.

20. "India and South Korea Armed Forces Pact for Joint Exercises and Defense Technology", *Frontier India*, September 3, 2010, <http://frontierindia.net/india-and-south-korea-armed-forces-pact-for-joint-exercises-and-defence-technology>

21. "Indian Delegation Visits KIST" (12.21), [www.kist.re.kr/en/cy/cms/17810\\_kist\\_news\\_view.html](http://www.kist.re.kr/en/cy/cms/17810_kist_news_view.html).

22. "India, South Korea Join Hands for Research in Science", *The Hindu*, January 28, 2010.

23. *Ibid.*

In the meantime, the Nano Science & Technology Consortium (NSTC) collaborated with the Midas System in South Korea in importing high-end nano-fabrication equipment.<sup>24</sup> Given the importance of nano-technology in the defence sector at the macroscopic level, the areas of nano-electronics, nano-composites, photovoltaics, and nano-bio applications are expected to create a collaborative field in the defence sector. Also, the Information Technology (IT) and software fields will enhance the preparedness of defence science and technology in both countries.<sup>25</sup> In general, many mutual benefits can be derived from South Korea's hardware prowess and India's software capabilities.<sup>26</sup>

The cooperation was visualised by the ministerial steering committee when Mr Pawan Kumar Bansal, Union Minister of Parliamentary Affairs, Science & Technology and Earth Science, visited Korea on May 5, 2011. After a meeting with his counterpart, Mr Ju-Ho Lee, Minister of Education and Science & Technology of South Korea, it was agreed that the programme of the India-Korea Great Innovation S&T Challenge would be launched through an MoU between Department of Science and Technology (DST) and Korea Institute of Science and Technology (KIST).<sup>27</sup> During the Indian Prime Minister's visit for the Nuclear Security Summit in March 2012, the leaders of both countries agreed to elevate the Joint Committee on Science and Technology to the ministerial level in order to augment cooperation. The joint research and development fund authorised by DST, India, and the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (MEST), Korea, was allotted US\$ 10 million to encourage several joint research projects in various areas.<sup>28</sup>

---

24. "Future of Indo-Korea Collaborative Activities in Nanotechnology," [www.ikbforum.com/files/Arepalli-FutureNanotech-IndoKorea.pdf](http://www.ikbforum.com/files/Arepalli-FutureNanotech-IndoKorea.pdf)

25. Shamila Janakiraman, "India-Korea Science and Technology Cooperation", *Business & Technology*, September 17, 2012, <http://www.biztechreport.com/story/2045-india-korea-science-and-technology-cooperation>

26. Rohit Pattnaik, "India-South Korea: The State of Affairs", *IDSA Comment*, September 22, 2006.

27. "Teaming Up Korea, India ... Science and Technology", *The Korea Herald*, May 15, 2011.

28. Shamila Janakiraman, "India-Korea Science and Technology Cooperation", *Business & Technology*, September 17, 2012, Asian Research Network, "Indo-Korea Joint Programme of Cooperation\_Call for Joint Project Proposals", *ARN News*, May 24, 2012. [http://www.biztechreport.com/story/2045-india-korea-science-and-technology-cooperationhttp://www.asianrn.org/zboard/view.php?id=news&page=1&sn1=&di vpage=1&sn=off&ss=on&sc=on&select\\_arrange=hit&desc=asc&no=53](http://www.biztechreport.com/story/2045-india-korea-science-and-technology-cooperationhttp://www.asianrn.org/zboard/view.php?id=news&page=1&sn1=&di vpage=1&sn=off&ss=on&sc=on&select_arrange=hit&desc=asc&no=53)

### *Nuclear Deal*<sup>29</sup>

With civil nuclear commerce currently being a main concern of international relations, the Indo-Korea nuclear agreement signed on July 25, 2011, was perceived as a strong convergence of strategic interests. Over the last few years, India has taken initiatives with a dozen countries, including the US, Canada, UK, Mongolia, and Russia, to secure access to nuclear fuel and technology. Its ambitious plan to enhance nuclear power generation up to 40,000MWe by 2035 necessitates cooperation with the uranium-rich and technologically advanced countries. India's thorium fuel cycle programme has been recognised as advanced.

As the sixth largest nuclear exporter, South Korea is endowed with advanced nuclear technology. Recently, the South Korean Consortium won a \$20 billion US contract in the UAE to construct four nuclear reactors. In addition, the Korean government is installing advanced nuclear power reactors to meet its increasing demand of electricity in the hope of producing 27.3GWe by 2020 and 35GWe by 2030. Therefore, there are strong reasons for both countries to work together.

The initial steps of the India-Korea nuclear cooperation started after the Indo-US nuclear negotiations. South Korea's state-owned Korea Electric Power Corporation (KEPCO) and Nuclear Power Corporation of India Ltd. (NPCIL) signed an MoU in August 2009 for bilateral cooperation on the exchange of technical data, experience, and joint work. KEPCO, in particular, is keen to export its APR-1400 (Advanced Pressurised Water Reactor) to India. In this regard, it has been engaged with the NPCIL in a joint study on the "licensibility and constructability" of APR-1400s in India.

As an initial step for inter-government negotiations, Korea seems to be closely following the nuclear liability issue that India is in the process of settling. Seoul's future course of nuclear commerce with India will be based on the parameters delineated by New Delhi. In the event of a nuclear incident inside or outside the national territory, it is of prime importance as to how quickly the crisis is handled, channelling liability and compensation legislation within

---

29. Y. J. Ji (2010), "India-South Korea Nuclear Cooperation: Strategic Convergence?", *Article*, #3187, July 8, 2010, Institution of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS), India.

the jurisdiction. Generally, member countries are obliged to adhere to the principles of the convention, either by implementing the set out guidelines or by laying down their own regime to prevent, and compensate in case of, nuclear damage. A party neither to the Paris Convention of 1960 nor to the Vienna Convention of 1963, South Korea is a prime example. However, it has its own legislative regimes to fulfil those requirements commensurate to these conventions. The “Act on Compensation for Nuclear Damage” imposes strict liability on operators of the nuclear installations. Like Japan, Germany, and Switzerland, South Korea has fixed unlimited liability on the operators in order to prevent sudden bankruptcy in the wake of a nuclear accident.

### **GEO-POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS**

Navigating the strategic outlook of Indo-Korea defence cooperation, all players in East Asia, including the US, China, Russia, Japan, and North Korea, appear to be observing, and speculating about, the rapidly growing Indo-Korea defence ties. Since South Korean President Noh Moo-hyun visited India in 2004, summit and ministerial level interactions have been augmented, especially from 2010 to 2012. In competition with India’s and China’s strategic partnership with the Eastern and Southeastern Asian countries, New Delhi’s strengthening ties with Seoul provide an opportunity for India to become directly involved in East Asia’s regional affairs.

Without remarking on the India-Korea defence cooperation, Beijing is keenly observing the potential impact of these ties and whether they will lead to a larger grouping of strategic cooperation. On the other hand, India’s and South Korea’s nuclear energy programmes seem to have skewed China’s active nuclear energy programme – even after the nuclear disaster in Japan. However, the Indo-South Korea nuclear deal caught Japan’s attention in a somewhat different manner, as the conditions for signing the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) suggested by Tokyo could not be implemented by Delhi. At the time, there were protests by Japanese anti-nuclear activists at the Kudankulam nuclear site which seemed to show that the anti-nuclear segment, shored up in Japan

after the Fukushima accident, was a factor in the delay in the nuclear deal with India before the national elections in December 2012.<sup>30</sup>

While the India-North Korea relationship was not dampened by New Delhi's neutral stance to the Korean Peninsula till the early 2000s, India's support to South Korea has become more unequivocal, especially over Pyongyang's recent satellite launch on December 13, 2012. India officially mentioned North Korea's violation of UN Security Council Resolution 1874 as an unwarranted action that has led to postponement of the Indian delegation's visit to North Korea for the time being.<sup>31</sup> The expectation that New Delhi's growing ties with Seoul would blossom due to the considerable political and economical advantage, prevailed, holding up diplomatic gestures with Pyongyang. However, it is premature to assume that India's position on either of the two Koreas will be lopsided – especially given India's unprovoked strategic stance toward Pyongyang.<sup>32</sup>

In view of the bilateral relationship deepening to an unprecedented stage, the other parties have formed a strategic trilateral circle. The US has renewed its alliance and strategic partnership with the Asia-Pacific region and indicated a desire to be involved in the Indo-Korean relationship by implementing a diplomatic venture. Washington seems to expect a growing role of India and South Korea on the trajectory that will be little disturbed by political turbulence. Thus, the convergence of strategic interests from India, South Korea, and the US requires creative solutions over common concerns, including nuclear security and safety, Indian Ocean security, regional security issues over North Korea, Pakistan, and Afghanistan, Asian regional institutions, and balancing China.<sup>33</sup>

Another strategic circle was envisaged at the meeting held in New Delhi on June 29, 2012, among India, South Korea, and Japan.<sup>34</sup> The first Track-II dialogue among the three countries discussed traditional

---

30. "Anti-Nuclear Activists Question Government in SC", *The Indian Express*, December 4, 2012.

31. "India Terms North Korea Rocket Launch 'Unwarranted'", *Deccan Herald*, December 12, 2012.

32. "North Korea's Rocket Launch Unwarranted: India", *The Hindu*, December 13, 2012.

33. S. Amer Latif, "Korea-India-US Strategic Engagement", *KOREA COMPASS*, May 2012 (Korea Economic Institute), pp.2-3.

34. "Think-Tanks of India, South Korea and Japan Engage in Dialogue" *The Hindu*, June 29, 2012.

and non-traditional security issues. Since all three countries depend on the Sea Lanes of Communication (SLOCs) for energy security, the core idea of architecting a trilateral dialogue might not be discouraged even by the political challenges.<sup>35</sup> The intention to hold the next meetings in Seoul and Tokyo envisages the need to build a constructive dialogue by elevating it to the government level.

Besides the optimism of constructing a trilateral mechanism, there is a number of challenges facing the grouping. A series of steps is yet to be arranged at the government level. In the current security structure, inclusive coordination might dismantle the relationship with other neighbouring countries. Also, the mystique of 'trilateral' appears vague unless it provides a marginal benefit to other multilateral mechanisms flooding into the Asia-Pacific region.<sup>36</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of India-South Korea diplomatic relations in 2013 appears to have turned into a nurturing bilateral defence cooperation that will facilitate regional stability in Asia. While sensing that a number of efforts support the bilateral defence cooperation, both sides need to create an enlarged common agenda for the security dilemma in Asia. Despite the fact that New Delhi and Seoul did not have many points to cause each other security concerns, the states aligned to them or friendly with them, provided different strategic circles that led them apart. Despite the fact that their defence cooperation tilted toward different major powers, both countries kept strengthening their defence capability through an independent structure. A pragmatic approach needs to be taken by broadening the strategic scope. It may not be helpful to overemphasise any immediate threat or take instantaneous actions to destabilise regional security; rather, more plausible and durable ties need to be built, having a comprehensive, long-term global vision.

---

35. "India, Republic of Korea, Japan Hold a Trilateral Meet; Discuss South China Sea", *The Economic Times*, June 29, 2012.

36. Latif, n. 32, pp.2-3.



# INDIA'S STRATEGIC ENVIRONMENT: APPLICATION OF GRAND STRATEGY

**PRATEEK KAPIL**

Grand strategy, in a nutshell, is fundamentally a choice: it reflects a preference for a future state or condition in the strategic environment. Therefore, strategy at the state level can be defined as the art and science of developing and using the political, economic, socio-psychological and military power of the state to create strategic effects that protect or advance national interests in the environment in accordance with policy guidance. Strategy seeks a synergy and symmetry of objectives, concepts, and resources to increase the probabilities and favourable consequences of policy success and to lessen the chances of policy failure.

Strategy applies in the realm of the strategic environment, which is characterised by greater or less degree of chaotic behaviour and complexity – VUCA (Volatility, Uncertainty, Complexity, and Ambiguity). The environment can be addressed at different levels of strategy. It has an inherent internal-external dialectic – a duality that produces successive interactions and results in multi-ordered effects. The international and domestic environments are representative of this dialectic. Rational and irrational choice, chance and probability, competitors, allies,

---

**Prateek Kapil** is a Research Associate at the Centre for the Air Power Studies, New Delhi.

other actors, technology, geography, and nature are all part of the strategic paradigm.

### **PREMISES OF STRATEGY**

- Strategy is proactive and anticipatory, but not predictive. It is clear on facts, assumptions and possibilities.
- Strategy is subordinate to policy. Political purpose dominates all levels of strategy. Policy ensures that strategy pursues appropriate aims in an acceptable manner. In short, strategy pursues appropriate aims, and informs policy of the art of the possible.
- Strategy must be consistent with the particular context and the nature of the strategic environment.
- Strategy maintains a holistic perspective.
- Strategy creates a security dilemma for the strategist and other actors. The strategist must determine if the end-state justifies the risks of initiating action, and other actors must decide whether to act and in what manner.
- Strategy is an inherently human enterprise. It is more than an intellectual consideration of objective factors. The role of belief systems and cultural perceptions of all actors is important in strategy's formulation
- Friction is an inherent part of strategy. It is the summation of all the differences in how strategy is supposed to work versus how it actually unfolds when implemented.
- Strategy is hierarchical. Just as strategy is subordinate to policy, lower levels of strategy and planning are subordinate to higher levels of strategy. The hierarchical nature of strategy facilitates span of control.
- Strategy has a symbiotic relationship with time.
- Efficiency is subordinate to effectiveness in strategy.
- The purpose of the strategic appraisal process is to clarify and express interests with specificity; determine the intensity of interests; evaluate information, assumptions, and inferences to identify what is important to those interests; determine all strategic factors; and choose key strategic factors on which to base a strategy.

- Finally, strategy is expressed in terms of ends (what using verbs), ways (how) and means (preferably quantifiable resources).
- The validity of any strategy can be tested by checking the inherent logic of suitability, feasibility and acceptability. The strategist may also find that the answer to one or more of these questions is somewhat nuanced and ambiguous.
- Another part of validating strategy is the assessment of the probable consequences of success and failure. Risk may not be avoided but it can be accounted for.<sup>1</sup>

The Foreign Secretary, Rajan Mathai falling short of stating it explicitly, describes India's grand strategy as the strategy of comprehensive national transformation.<sup>2</sup> The foreign policy and national security apparatus of India has to facilitate this comprehensive national transformation of the country at large. The desired end-state of this transformation includes economic and human development of the country centred around 10 odd megacities, thousands of 1<sup>st</sup> tier cities and towns and a sustainably viable rural agricultural economy; Homogeneity of the modern state with insistence on democracy, education, science, civil liberties, rule of law and freedom of expression across the territory is paramount, without trespassing on the religious, cultural, historical and linguistic sensitivities of the citizens; preserving the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Indian state with effective defence modernisation without destabilising the guns vs butter equilibrium. This can be achieved by ceding certain powers of military strategy, defence acquisition and organisation directly to the armed forces, while retaining the civilian control over funding, and the political control : a decentralised Indian state with a primary role for private enterprises in economics and for local governance and states in politics which further has to be overseen by a supportive central government retaining the responsibility of regulation, facilitation and provision of public goods like health, security, social security, infrastructure and foreign affairs.

Internationally, the operative phrase for India has often been strategic autonomy and strategic restraint. It is difficult to believe

---

1. Harry R. Yarger, *Strategy and the National Security Professional*, (2008), ch10., pp. 150-157.  
2. Foreign Secretary Ranjan Mathai, IRIIS-IAIS Seminar, IIC, December 2012.

that a middle power with a large number of domestic pulls and pressures can afford the luxury of true strategic autonomy. Strategic autonomy is a misnomer because all sovereign nations are looking for strategic autonomy. That, in fact, is a basic corollary of sovereignty. The exercise of that autonomy to make clear strategic choices is what is functionally important. India is looking to become a pole in the international system, with economic power the driver in the next half a century. This has to be backed by open economic policies of free trade and a stable regional security environment, communication channels and international transport infrastructure. This requires India to engage proactively with the international institutions which formulate the rules of the international system, for example, the Group of Twenty, World Trade Organisation, Missile Technology Control Regime, nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, International Monetary Fund (G20, WTO, MTCR, NPT, IMF), World Bank, and United National Security Council (UNSC). India cannot afford to work with the pre-set rules; it has to look to influence them to its own advantage. Although a certain degree of flexibility is indispensable, this process involves making clear choices (of allies, adversaries and interlocutors), cutting deals, and immense give and take. It also involves having a clear idea of ends, ways and means. The Doha dialogue and stalemate on agricultural subsidies and market access provides a good example. It is a case of the Indian government successfully influencing the international system in its favour with a clear understanding of the ends (free and fair market competition), means (multilateral negotiation) and ways (invoking the unfair subsidies to farmers in developed rural economies)

Militarily, India is involved in asymmetric conflict with two traditional nuclear adversaries, Pakistan and China. The Indian response to successive Pakistani aggressions and support to terrorism has been calibrated and restrained despite Pakistan continuously supporting proxies under the nuclear threshold. A possible Indian response to this Pakistani strategy has to be speeding up, first and foremost, as many judicial proceedings as realistically possible pertaining to excesses in Kashmir, more effective ways of crowd control and providing designated areas in the state for peaceful protest, a focussed aggressive public relations strategy highlighting

the Indian state's commitment to the Kashmiri economy, culture and administrative independence of state government and political actors, mobilising international pressure with increased insistence on the US and China to establish the culpability of Pakistani backed terrorism, the long-term objective of recognising the Line of Control (LOC) as the international border, increased bilateral trade and intelligence services interaction, which are potential game changers. Strategising for Kargil like localised conflicts under the nuclear threshold has to be initiated in preparation for a response to a Mumbai-like aggression again. It is my opinion that the threat of nuclear escalation has been overstated, and a limited conflict in the event of extreme provocation should not be ruled out, at least for effective signalling and posturing.

The relationship with China is more nuanced, with a variety of factors affecting the desired outcomes. China is a continental power and possibly a global power. The relationship has come to be defined by increased economic cooperation. The litmus test for this economic bonhomie has to be the three issues of trade imbalance, increased Chinese investments in the Indian economy and Chinese support in reform of the IMF and the World Bank along with cooperation in the WTO and climate change negotiations. The cooperative relationship can turn on its head on issues of different political and legal systems, cultural and linguistic barriers, and Indian expansion in the East Asian region. Although the Indian Prime Minister has been categorical in saying that there is enough space for both countries to coexist, tangible steps have to be taken by both countries to assuage each other's insecurities. India's strengths in relation to China are a more representative political system, a growing knowledge economy supplemented by a greater diffusion of the English language, a demographic dividend conditional on whether India can train it into a competent human resource (this would require greater investment in education and job creation, particularly in manufacturing and infrastructure). China, on the other hand, is an economic behemoth with great nationalist zeal and labour work ethics; it is ahead on all counts of human development, barring certain political rights and civil liberties, and it has succeeded in executing the "Beijing consensus" model which Deng Xiaoping called "socialism with Chinese characteristics" – but which outsiders would assert is just

capitalism with an efficient public sector and better state regulation. The role of the state in China is an evolving process which has to be closely monitored.

Militarily, the Chinese possess a tangible asymmetric advantage over India. It is pertinent to note that China has resolved most of its boundary disputes, barring the one with India. This reluctance, although strategically obvious, underlines the bottom line in the Chinese view of the geo-political relationship with India. The commitment to border talks and status quo has to be commended on both sides but the stalemate is a reflection of the inherent inevitability of mistrust between two giant neighbouring sovereigns in the absence of any institutionalisation of the peace dividend. In a lot of ways, the situation is similar to the relationship France and Germany shared in pre-war Europe (barring the possibility of frequent conflicts owing to the advent of the nuclear age) and we all know what it took to resolve that. Let's hope both nations can learn from that episode of history and leapfrog conflict directly to institutionalisation of peace. Failing that, India needs to follow a strategy of classical balance of power. That is where the Indo-US relationship comes in. A formal American alliance is critical to India's security in the coming century. At this point, I want to explain why I choose to make such a general sweeping statement. It is important to note that India, although a nuclear power with competent armed forces, is primarily a developing country with monumental socio-economic problems. Currently, the Indian state is reluctant to have overt alliances because it wants to project strategic autonomy and emphasise flexibility. This strategy, seemingly prudent, is restrictive in reality. India is at a stage of evolution where it needs a socio-economic transformation, with daylight separating development and independent power projection as priorities. Having said that, increased development and formal alliances will provide alternative ways of power projection in the near future; they will also be an essential investment to achieve a long-term end-state of independent power projection. In the coming few decades, India needs to delegate or outsource some of its security posturing and problems to a power comparable to that of China. There is only one nation in the international system which can do this right now: the United States of America. This is not to say that the alliance has simple mono-

causal genesis: after all, the US-China themselves are inter-connected and calibrating their relationship in complex ways with influential voices like Henry Kissinger even calling for a Pacific community similar to that of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (inclusive of China). In this scenario, what an Indo-US alliance will achieve is that it will subsume into a US-China relationship, with the US clearly capable of negotiating with the continental giant on an equal and fair footing. This is not an undesirable outcome for India, at least for the next few decades. India needs this alliance to focus on the goals of development, investment, entry into the UNSC and other influential multilateral regimes, privatisation, common values of democracy, rule of law, state-Centre relations and human development. It will form a buffer for India in dealing with its primary security issues, with the US taking the lead in organising the security architecture for the region. American primacy is not necessarily a bad thing for India in the short run because a lot of political and normative groundwork has gone into a strategic relationship already. The recurring talk of stepping up the relationship has to be finally put into action.

Edward Luttwak says that strategy does not follow a simple linear logic and, in fact, follows a paradoxical one because all strategy should account for how the adversary, environment and other actors will react to it. The first question that India needs to ask itself is whether it is happy with the status quo: the Chinese backing of a three-headed regime in Pakistan, with a clear strategy of proxy war against India, Chinese dismissiveness of traditional criteria of boundary dispute resolution like geographic barriers and determinants, continuity and legitimacy of legal documents, inheritance of territory and treaty obligations from colonial masters, unless mutually renegotiated—a principle which has been followed by independent nations all over the world—Pakistan's blocking of the formation of a South Asian trade block, with Afghanistan as a stable credible actor, China's single-minded capacity building which can either be used assertively or for reform of China from within into a responsible balancer in the international system. If the answer is yes, then India can surely continue its present policies of "strategic autonomy" and hope that the contingencies of history will eventually be favourable to

its case. If the answer, however, is no, it remains to be seen how the environment and the other actors will react to an Indian strategy of alliance with the United States.

Firstly, the credibility and conditionality of the US assurance will be questioned. Herein the onus lies on both India and the US to institutionalise their alliance in tangible incremental steps. Consequently, India's rise as a responsible nuclear democratic power is an incentive for the US to reciprocate. The litmus test of the Indo-US relationship is India's forgoing some strategic autonomy and US support of India in terms of technology, capital and expertise. A stronger American control and assertiveness over Pakistan on the issue of terrorism and Afghanistan is critical to this relationship. These two issues can be exact issue areas where the US can induce India into a stronger bilateral partnership. Positive results on these issues will also make it very difficult for India to resist a stronger bilateral relationship with the US. The *quid pro quo* may involve India having to be clearer on issues of democracy promotion, well regulated free market domestic reforms and Indian support to the American diplomatic tangles in West Asia. The principle of Responsibility to Protect (R2P) remains an irritant but Indian policy can be case-specific in this case. Over time, a greater American military involvement in the subcontinent could be a game changer after enough trust has been built in the relationship. India's military incentive lies in the greater American and allied expertise in disruptive and game changing war technologies and home security best practices. These technologies will be a boost to the Indian Navy and Air Force –they are critical to any asymmetric warfare, with the Army to be used mainly in special operations and resilient defensive positions. The full potential of the Army as an offensive ground force should be used only as a last resort in exceptional circumstances. Western competence in these areas is to be thoroughly adopted with suitable adjustments for Indian realities. If India wants to sincerely pursue the "Look East" strategy, it may also not be a far-fetched geo-political idea to link the geographical space of the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

The Chinese and Pakistani reactions to such an Indian strategy of American alliance is consequential to any calculation. The Pakistani reaction might follow a similar pattern in intensifying

the political and economic partnership with the Chinese especially, in the sensitive areas of Kashmir, Aksai Chin and the disputed India-China border. Pakistan will also try to disrupt the South Asia project and try to divert the greater American involvement in the region to spill over to the issue of Kashmir. America might use the strategic partnership with India to influence the Indian stand on the Kashmir issue. However, this may not necessarily make it incumbent on India to demonstrate discomfort or displeasure. As confidently asserted by the Prime Minister to President Obama, during the latter's visit, India does not shy away from the 'K' word. The Indian redline is simply that it can be achieved only by a peaceful bilateral dialogue after a legal institutional dismantling of the cross-border terrorist network, preceded by speedy conviction in a handful of ongoing terrorism cases.. The question of nuclear escalation is an overstated one in my opinion because there is still the possibility of a limited localised conflict under the nuclear threshold—like it happened in Kargil—and an open pre-declaration of such a doctrine will strip the adversary of the legal, moral and operational justification for initiating such an escalation in the event of hostilities. It is often said that unimaginable destruction has often been closely prevented in South Asia due to Indian restraint. But the question beckons : can a nation-state legitimised on the basis of the prime responsibility of securing its citizens perpetually absorb terrorist attacks of such nature? Shouldn't there be cases where Pakistan itself shows restraint even in the event of a localised Indian military retaliation to a terrorist attack with demonstrable evidence of Pakistani patronage? Turning to positive aspects of the Indo-Pak dynamic, the wild card in the relationship comprises the people-to-people relationships. The Indian and Pakistani people are the same in so many ways, except the one central dispute originating from religion. The inherent difficulty of religious debates is that they seldom have linear rational solutions. The Arab-Israeli conflict is the classic example of how no amount of conflict, negotiation and political creativity can ever result in a solution acceptable to all parties. The only possible solution is tolerance and stable coexistence with a legally signed treaty of well-defined rules of engagement. This,

in turn, can only be achieved by an inter-faith dialogue, backed by committed government-to-government action. In fact, this state of stable coexistence has to be reinforced by external international actors and multilateral organisations.

The Chinese reaction to the strategy of the Indo-American alliance is of paramount importance. An Indo-US alliance on the face of it might directly threaten China. But a closer look will reveal that it will put India in the shadow of the United States. China would stop looking at India as a direct adversary but almost as a “corollary power” (if you allow me the liberty of coining this term) of the United States. In my opinion, this will lead to Sino-Indian relations being defined more by the larger systemic Sino-US relations. That eventuality is a preferable end-state for India, because the US-China relationship is not directly antagonistic. Their economies are fundamentally inter-linked, with China holding large amounts of US government securities; and major American international corporations have outsourced their manufacturing to China. The US has been extremely cautious about Taiwan which, in turn, has been integrated economically with the Mainland with huge investment linkages; and China has shown signs of agreeing to the one China-two systems principles. Also, strategically, China will stick to the 24-character strategy of Deng Xiaoping and not take radical steps in the near future, at least till certain goals of national transformation are tangibly achieved. An Indo-US alliance should be looked as a necessary reinforcement to prolong this state of affairs. With respect to the success and nuances of this strategy, it is very important that India exercises extreme caution on the Tibet issue. From an Indian point of view, socio-economically nothing will benefit the Tibetans more than being part of a huge efficient economy such as China and the onus lies on China to provide the acceptable political (the exact nature of the political system depends on the Tibetan-Chinese bilateral negotiations) and cultural environment for the return of the refugees. India, on its, part can only provide asylum without a temporal deadline and nudge both parties to conduct periodic negotiations. Any adventure on the part of the Indians on this sensitive Chinese nerve might provoke a disproportionate Chinese reaction, undermining the Indian standing and power credentials in

the region. The Indians should go so far as making the right noises for Chinese ears on this issue. Nuance on this issue can enable India to effect more concrete Chinese accommodations on its core strategic objectives of Kashmir, Tawang, and the like.

The Chinese strategy to unsettle this Indo-US strategy might include penalising trade ties with India, exerting political pressure on India and, most importantly, increasing incursions on the border issue. It is important that India holds its nerve in these circumstances and the Indian military response is assertive yet nimble-footed. It has to have a mixture of *quid pro quo* land grabs which can be later negotiated for land swaps. This would be prudent only in case China initiates speculative incursions for the precise objective of land grabbing. As K. Subrahmanyam<sup>3</sup> has put it, and this is especially true for the Sino-Indian military relationship in a nuclear era, the role of the military would become, essentially, preventing wars from breaking out through appropriate weapons acquisitions, force deployment patterns, development of infrastructure, military exercises, and defence diplomacy. This is a far more demanding task than peace-time operations in the pre-nuclear age. The American alliance is a critical bulwark for India to execute this with credibility and risk-averseness. The domestic weaknesses of the Pakistani and Chinese state systems provide an inherent internal restraint on the two countries to react adventurously. The significance of this last line cannot be emphasised enough.

---

3. K. Subrahmanyam, "India's Strategic Challenges," *Indian Express*, February 4, 2012.



# AIR POWER IN THE LIBYAN CRISIS

INDRANI TALUKDAR

Looking at the past century, it is possible to identify two eras of distinct international relationships between states: (1) the bipolar system (during the Cold War); and (2) the unipolar or multipolar system (at present). This change of the international order has also produced a change in the way the use of force is seen in solving economic, ideological, or ethnic problems. The vacuum created with the dissolution of one of the two superpowers (USSR)—a vacuum not covered by the remaining superpower—has *de facto* opened the way to the proliferation of small wars. But even if small wars do not represent an immediate threat for most Western countries, prolonged small wars can jeopardise the international order.<sup>1</sup> Apart from wars in the conventional and traditional way, unconventional warfare like civil war, ethnic war, religious war, guerrilla warfare, terrorism, etc within a state also has the equal potential to endanger the international security. The Libyan crisis which saw the end of a dictatorial regime had such potential.

---

**Indrani Talukdar** is a Research Associate at the Centre for the Air Power Studies, New Delhi.

1. Roberto Corsini, "The Balkan War: What Role for Air Power?" *Airpower Journal*, Winter 1995, pp.1-13, here p.2, [http://www.airpower.au.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/apj95/win95\\_files/corsini.pdf](http://www.airpower.au.af.mil/airchronicles/apj/apj95/win95_files/corsini.pdf). Accessed on August 27, 2012.

## THE LIBYAN CRISIS

The crisis in Libya started in Benghazi in February 2011. The evolution of this crisis could be found in the dissatisfaction with the rule of the Libyan leader, Muammar Gaddafi, but the spark that led to it was the ripple effect of the Arab Spring. From December 2010, West Asia was engulfed in this Spring which saw the winds of change in the dictatorial regimes as well as reforms on democratic lines in these countries. The spillover effect of this strong change could be felt in Libya which saw the start of a civil war between Gaddafi and the opposition called the rebels.

Libya has a tribal society, wherein it has a small population, vast oil wealth, non-existent or stunted institutions and routine repression by Gaddafi. In fact, the root cause of the crisis lay in the anger and hurt within the relatives of the victims of the notorious massacre in 1996 and that led to the eruption of the rebellion. The military conflict that took place between the rebels and Gaddafi, ultimately, with the help of the international community, resulted in Gaddafi's deposition and death, and the National Transitional Council taking control of Libya. The decision to attack by the international community with the help of the US and the Allied powers had come after Gaddafi had defied an ultimatum from the Western powers demanding a ceasefire. The Libyan government had continued "heavy bombardment and fighting" against the opposition from within the main rebel-held city, Benghazi.<sup>2</sup>

The vital point in this civil war was the role of the military forces in the form of joint operations and, most importantly, air strikes by the West that led to the downfall of Gaddafi. Although in the initial stages of the war, the Western powers in the form of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) were unable to break through Gaddafi's defence lines, later the forces managed to do so, leading to victory.<sup>3</sup> The crisis brought both the Western powers as well as small emerging powers

2. Mike Vilensky, "Allied Forces Open Fire on Libyan Government Forces", *Daily Intel*, March 19, 2011, [http://nymag.com/daily/intel/2011/03/libya\\_1.html](http://nymag.com/daily/intel/2011/03/libya_1.html). Accessed on August 29, 2012.
3. Western powers had continued the air strikes but were unable to deter Gaddafi's forces. The rebels said government forces shot down a Russian-made helicopter sent to the fight by revolutionaries. In fact, due to constant air strikes, Gaddafi at one point changed tactics by making using less use of tanks and made his soldiers do the pickups. Chris McGreal, "Libya: Rebel Defences 'Failing' as Gaddafi Forces Move Towards Benghazi", *The Guardian*, April 10, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/apr/10/libya-rebel-defences-gaddafi-forces-benghazi?INTCMP=ILCNETTXT3487>. Accessed on August 29, 2012.

like Qatar together in a display of military power. This crisis again proved the indispensability of air power. Air power, for a century now, has been an indispensable element in any balanced military force.<sup>4</sup> Due to the impact of air power and cruise missiles, the Libyan crisis could be conducted and concluded without the risk of putting “boots on the ground” (except for small numbers of special forces)<sup>5</sup>. Although at the beginning of the battle, the rebels, at one point of time, were nearly losing the battle with Gaddafi’s defence power, the tables were turned with the help of the United Nation’s Resolution of the “no-fly zone”<sup>6</sup> and the Allied powers’ military strikes. A significant point regarding air power has been that the air power of a stronger nation or allied camp has the capability to declare a no-fly<sup>7</sup> zone over a belligerent nation in that particular region. With the principle of control of the air or command of the air, the air power of a stronger nation has the capability to outdo the adversary’s air power with the latter’s denial of air space. Air power’s capability to target without being threatened, and also undertake preemptive strikes, has always given the military a huge advantage in the field of warfare or any conflict zone. The perceived threat of offensive air power has strongly been influencing international relations from the inter-war years.<sup>8</sup>

### DEFINITION OF AIR POWER

With emerging trends in warfare which is no longer restricted only to conventional warfare but includes unconventional warfare, the credibility of hard power, especially that of air power,

---

4. “Unique Features of Air Power”, *Pathfinder*, Air Power Development Centre Bulletin, issue 183, August 2012.

5. Ian Black, “Sandstorm: Libya in the Time of Revolution by Lindsey Hilsum – Review”, *The Guardian*, April 27, 2012, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/books/2012/apr/27/sandstorm-libya-revolution-lindsey-hilsum-review>. Accessed on August 29, 2012.

6. A no-fly zone that would allow Coalition aircraft to fly over Libya without the risk of being shot down. David D. Kirkpatrick, Steven Erlanger and Elisabeth Bumiller, “Allies Open Air Assault on Qaddafi’s Forces in Libya”, *The New York Times*, March 19, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/20/world/africa/20libya.html?pagewanted=all>. Accessed on August 29, 2012.

7. No-fly zone (or no-flight zone) is a territory or an area over which aircraft are not permitted to fly. Such zones are usually set up in a military context, somewhat like a demilitarised zone in the sky, and usually prohibit military aircraft of an adversary from operating in the region.

8. Alan Stephens “The Implications of Modern Air Power For Defence Strategy”, *Air Power Studies Centre*, Paper no.5, June 1993, p.2.

has increased. Although the main characteristics of warfare – firepower, mobility and freedom<sup>9</sup> – haven't changed, the type of warfare has changed with irregular warfare and asymmetric warfare becoming more dominating in today's world. In these changing times, hard power (the military) has to be deployed appropriately. Training, readiness, equipment, procedures and strategies have to be clear so as to not cause any confusion over the use of military power to achieve objectives. Adequate development of tools, tactics, training, and doctrine<sup>10</sup> in that direction has to be a prerequisite.

With the advent of air power, geographical barriers have been overcome. The ability to fly in the air has broken any kind of restrictions or boundaries that a warring nation could barricade against its enemy. Situations which were impossible to break through earlier in an enemy's camp became possible through air power. This is due to the aircraft's complete freedom of action and direction; aircraft can fly to and fro from any point of the earth, in the shortest time, by any route deemed expedient.<sup>11</sup> Aircraft, with their reach and firepower, enable nations to decide the outcome of a war or conflict. Ironically, air power, after the commencement of World War I, was seen as an auxiliary of the army and navy rather than a separate entity. It was an air arm of the land and sea forces.<sup>12</sup> From the beginning of World War I, aircraft created conditions favourable for an attack for either the land or naval forces. Despite tremendous advances in anti-aircraft defensive systems, the aircraft was the most potent attacking weapon in the military arsenal.<sup>13</sup>

---

9. Jasjit Singh, *Air Power in Modern Warfare* (New Delhi: Lancer Publisher, 1985), p. xviii.

10. Corsini, n. 1, pp.1-13, here p.3.

11. Giulio Douhet, "The Command of the Air" in Giulio Douhet, *The Command of the Air* (Dehradun: Natraj Publishers, 2003), pp.13-14.

12. Although air power has proved its indispensability, its potential has still not got the acknowledgment it deserved. Somewhere, an unseen tussle is going on due to competition within the defence forces. It is a fact that joint operations are the key point towards winning any battle or conflict, especially in today's time but the power of air power cannot and should not be overlooked. Air power shields the other forces through its power of providing a high degree of deterrence. It complements the general principles of warfare. The way warfare has been influenced by the three fundamental and critical factors—firepower, mobility and freedom of action—to exploit them in the same way, air power has the capability to manoeuvre its way with these three fundamental and critical factors. Singh, n.9, pp. xvii and xviii.

13. Stephens, n. 8, pp.1-2 and p.4.

Before World War II, the speed and freedom of action of an aircraft caused it to be considered primarily as an instrument of exploration and reconnaissance. It could be said that the importance of aircraft commenced after World War II where achieving command of the air meant opening the ground for victory. To be defeated in the air meant defeat and acceptance of whatever terms the enemy may wish to impose. In a battle, the employment of air power as a range-finder for the artillery gave it advantages over the surface, and led to its being used to attack the enemy on, and behind, his own lines. The need of countering enemy aerial operations led to the invention of anti-aircraft guns and pursuit planes.<sup>14</sup> With time and advances in technology, upgradation in the defence sector took place with the development of systems like the air defence system, missiles (ballistics and cruise), radars, airborne warning vehicles, etc but the unchanging truth of the power of air power remained. The main distinguishing element between air power, land and sea power is the fact that the third dimension above the earth is actually being exploited to advantage by the air platform or vehicle. This exploitation, stemming from manoeuvre, deployment, surprise, etc rather than the simple traverse as in the case of a bullet or a ballistic projectile<sup>15</sup> gives the vital impact needed.

Although one can counter-argue about the success of air power by citing the example of the Vietnam War, where air power failed to give a victory to the US, the fact is that apart from a few cases, all the battles or conflicts where air power was used, proved to be successful and significant. When air power has been used with the appropriate doctrines and strategies, its effect has been a success. In fact, the incorporation of *land-air warfare*, where the strategy and tactics of surface operations had to incorporate air strategy and air power capabilities<sup>16</sup> had a polished lethal impact on future war-fighting.

The magnitude of air power may be understood by its characteristics like flexibility, versatility, mobility, concentration, responsiveness, shock effect<sup>17</sup>, speed, radius of action, ceiling,

---

14. B.D. Jayal, "Foreword" in Douhet, n.11, p.9 and p.46.

15. Singh, n. 9, p.xvi.

16. Ibid., p. xx.

17. Wg. Cdr. Vikram Munshi's personal notes, pp.5-6.

degree of armament and useful load.<sup>18</sup> Its usefulness along with its capabilities of precision attack surveillance and reconnaissance make it an indispensable force. All these qualities have a credible effective deterrent role that helps in breaking the resolve and will of another nation. Air power has the capability to offload destructive power from the vertical medium<sup>19</sup> like missiles, etc. These characteristics give air power an edge over the other two Services.

The characteristics and attributes that make air power the supreme expression of military power are due to its unparalleled and unique ability to concentrate application of force in time and space, its high degree of flexibility and its high degree of responsiveness. These attributes achieve surprise in both strategic and tactical terms, creating tremendous shock effect, dynamic and psychological, leading to destruction and disruption far in excess of the actual damage imposed.<sup>20</sup> The advent of air power channelised warfare towards a new dimension. Its agility, adaptability and capability gave it an edge over other forces as well as the power of destructiveness. An effective way to demonstrate national resolve and will could be effected through deployment of air power. Its capacity to deliver missiles and war-making potential to a desired destination to achieve a desired purpose gives a country the power to impose its will over an adversary. Since this can be done rapidly, it helps in demonstrating resolve immediately. The deployment of the Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) in conjunction with offensive air strikes is a clear signalling of intent.<sup>21</sup> To bring out the maximum utilisation of air power, countries have used it in both defensive and offensive ways. In the case of Libya, the air power of the Allied powers, used in an offensive way, helped to depose Gaddafi.

### **ODYSSEY DAWN**

The joint military operation for Libya was dubbed as the Odyssey Dawn which was a multi-phased military operation. A salvo of cruise

---

18. Douhet, n. 11, pp.37-38.

19. Singh, n. 9, pp.xxi-xxiii.

20. Ibid., p.xix.

21. n. 19, p.5.

missiles was unleashed initially with the aim at blinding Libya's substantial Soviet-era air defences. The more than 110 Tomahawk cruise missiles launched from US and British warships were supposed to take down the "critical nodes" of Libya's air-defence system, by targeting early warning radars, surface-to-air missile launchers and communications posts. By striking first with cruise missiles, the Coalition took the first step toward gaining control of Libya's air space. This success led the Allies to send military aircraft to enforce a broader no-fly zone over Libya's northern tier. A point noted was that the most of those air defence installations were "on or near the coast, a fact which made their destruction vital to the enforcement of a no-fly zone, since much of the air activity that the West had seen and of the regime's military efforts, was from that particular part of the country."<sup>22</sup> In fact, the special anti-radar missiles which were used to suppress enemy air defences were carried by piloted aircraft not drones.<sup>23</sup>

Both the European and US forces had unleashed warplanes and cruise missiles against Gaddafi's forces. For example, three US B-2 stealth bombers had dropped 40 bombs on a major Libyan airfield in an attempt to destroy much of the Libyan Air Force.<sup>24</sup> Aircraft like the A-10 Thunderbolt jets, Marine AV-8 Harrier jets and AC-130 gunships were used which were best suited for striking ground force targets.<sup>25</sup> Meanwhile, the French Dassault Rafale's and Mirage fighter jets began reconnaissance overflights of "all Libyan territory" and later French aircraft initiated the operation by attacking the Libyan airfields.<sup>26</sup> According to the US, it carried out 77 percent of all the refuelling missions and 27

22. Nathan Hodge, "Strikes Designed to Knock Out Libyan Air Defenses", *The Wall Street Journal*, March 20, 2011, <http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10001424052748704021504576211270117210318.html>. Accessed on August 29, 2012.

23. Charlie Savage and Thom Shanker, "Scores of US Strikes in Libya Followed Handoff to NATO", *The New York Times*, June 20, 2011, <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/06/21/world/africa/21powers.html>. Accessed on August 29, 2012.

24. Jane Cowan and Peter Cave, "US Hails Libya Airstrike Success", *ABC News*, March 21, 2011, <http://www.abc.net.au/news/2011-03-21/us-hails-libya-airstrike-success/2648382>. Accessed on August 29, 2012.

25. Luis Martinez, "NATO to US: We Need More Strikes in Libya", *ABC News*, April 3, 2011, [http://abcnews.go.com/International/nato-asks-us-continue-libya-air-strikes/story?id=13287530#.UD2rAqD\\_fCM](http://abcnews.go.com/International/nato-asks-us-continue-libya-air-strikes/story?id=13287530#.UD2rAqD_fCM). Accessed on August 29, 2012.

26. "Airstrikes Begin on Libya Targets", *Al Jazeera*, March 19, 2012, <http://www.aljazeera.com/news/africa/2011/03/2011319175243968135.html>. Accessed on August 29, 2012.

percent of the surveillance flights. The US had provided 22 tanker aircraft and 13 surveillance and reconnaissance aircraft to NATO for use in the Libya operations, including two Predator drones, a high-altitude unmanned Global Hawk, and an array of planes with sophisticated jamming, radar, communications and spying capabilities. F-16 fighter jets and the US Navy's EA-18G Growler electronic attack planes which were assigned to NATO were being used to target Gaddafi's surface-to-air missiles.<sup>27</sup> Meanwhile, the Royal Air Force's Tornados had fired Brimstone anti-tank missiles and Paveway IV bombs that were precision weapons with accuracy of a few metres. These attacks weakened Gaddafi's forces. In fact, in the month of April, the Allied powers had undertaken 300 sorties that had destroyed 49 tanks, 9 armoured personnel carriers, 3 anti-aircraft guns and 4 large ammunition bunkers. Apart from these, the Tornados had also fired an unknown number of Storm Shadow air-launched cruise missiles.<sup>28</sup>

Although the mission was a joint operation fought with all the powerful countries star fighter aircraft, the French Rafale which was fielded by NATO was the primary attack plane while the Eurofighter Typhoon provided intelligence through its targeting pods. "The omni-role" capabilities of the Rafale, meaning air-to-air, air-to-ground and intelligence gathering were used during the mission. The Rafales scanned the skies for fixed-wing aircraft and helicopters, besides anti-aircraft missiles of Gaddafi's forces, and attacked them during the same mission. Often, the mission profile had to be modified during an operation as fresh intelligence emerged of the enemy's offensive assets. The Rafale armaments included two infrared and two active radar radio frequency MBDA Mica air-to-air missiles mounted on the wingtips and wing root of the plane. The infrared (IR) seekers on the missiles acted as stealthy sensors. This aircraft proved lethal to the Libyan force.<sup>29</sup>

---

27. Lolita C. Baldor, "US Doing Limited Airstrikes For NATO in Libya", *The Huffington Post*, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/04/13/libya--us-airstrikes-nato\\_n\\_848817.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/04/13/libya--us-airstrikes-nato_n_848817.html). Accessed on August 29, 2012.

28. Richard Norton Taylor, "Libya: RAF Tornados Strike 15 Targets in Libya", *The Guardian*, April 11, 2011, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/apr/11/raf-tornados-strike-15-targets-libya?intcmp=239>

29. "'Omnirole' Rafale Steals Lead Over Eurofighter Typhoon in Libyan Operations", *Defenceworldnet*, November 1, 2011, <http://www.freerepublic.com/focus/f->

The credit for bringing the Libyan crisis to an end has to be given to the joint military operation of the US and the Allied powers and also to their air power capabilities. Though the ground was dominated by the air strikes and missiles fired upon by fighter aircraft, warships and submarines, ultimately it was the Western air power which sealed the victory for the rebels in Libya. Hence, this victory in Libya again proved the dominant role of air power because of its characteristics, enhanced by the ability to control the surface forces and objects from the air (while the reverse cannot be done). The Balkan campaign in the 1990s also proved the efficacy of air power to finish off a war. In the similar terms, the result of the Libyan campaign was also sealed by air power.

---

[news/2800844/posts](https://www.researchgate.net/publication/2800844). Accessed on August 29, 2012.



# THE DRAGON AWAKENS: CHINA AND ITS SOFT POWER

**STUTI BANERJEE**

China's long and rich history as one of the world's oldest continuous civilisations has influenced its foreign relations in various ways. For centuries, the Chinese Empire basically enjoyed, unchallenged greatness and self-sufficiency. China saw itself as the cultural centre of the universe, a view reflected in the concept of the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> Until the past decade, China exerted minimal soft power. Beijing still pursued a defensive foreign policy, and the Chinese public lacked confidence that Beijing could project power. However, one finds that there was a shift in the Chinese policy during the financial crisis in Asia in the late 1990s when the economies of most Southeast Asian countries collapsed and the United States was unable to provide assistance. China emerged as the strongest contender for the position occupied by the Americans. Today, as America concentrates its resources on the war against terrorism and Europe conserves its resources to tide over an economic slowdown, China is once again deepening its relations with the nations of South and Southeast Asia, Africa and Latin America. With the onset of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, China is showing its global presence at a rapid pace. Assessing the implications of its growing economic, political and security influence

---

Dr. **Stuti Banerjee** is an Associate Fellow at the Centre for Air Power Studies, New Delhi.

1. Robert L. Worden, Andrea Matles Savada and Ronald E. Dolan, eds., *China: A Country Study* (Washington: GPO for the Library of Congress, 1987). URL- <http://countrystudies.us/china/>. Accessed on July 29, 2012.

is a difficult yet critical endeavour because of the potentially serious consequences of misjudging China's intentions and the true scope of its power.<sup>2</sup>

Over the past decade, the growth that China has been experiencing, not just in the economic sphere but also its active participation at the diplomatic levels is indicative of the role that it wants to, and will, play in the future. It has given rise to two views: one that China would use its new position to change the international arena to better suit its interests, and two, this development would mean that other, especially smaller states, would feel threatened by a powerful China. It is to counter this image of a future security threat, of regional hegemony, that China has repeatedly stated that its growth is for development and not a threat to its neighbours.

The Chinese understanding of soft power stems from an effort to try to be able to clear the misconceptions and generalisations that the world has formed about them. For China, soft power is to internationalise the voice of China so that it penetrates the popular consciousness and influences policy communities debating the consequences of China's rise. It is an attempt to promote a preferred Chinese idea of what China is and what it stands for, including an emphasis on the historical roots of current thinking, identity-formation and policy designed to correct misconceptions in the overseas audience about Chinese motivations and intentions. By bringing more people across the world into contact with Chinese understandings and preferences, and by explaining their source, the hope is that people will become more comfortable of them—ultimately, perhaps, they might even share and support them, but the aim, at least in the short run, is for them not to be found worrying and/or offensive.<sup>3</sup>

Nonetheless, the concerns for the United States and the rest of the world emanate out of a contest for the United States' status in world

- 
2. Riordan Roett and Guadalupe Paz, "Introduction: Assessing the Implications of China's Growing Presence in the Western Hemisphere", in Riordan Roett and Guadalupe Paz, eds., *China's Expansion into the Western Hemisphere: Implications for Latin America and the United States* (Washington: The Brookings Institute Press, 2008), p. 1.
  3. Shaun Breslin, "The Soft Notion of China's 'Soft Power'," Asia Program Paper: ASP PP2011/03 (London: Chatham House, 2011), p.7. URL- [http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Asia/0211pp\\_breslin.pdf](http://www.chathamhouse.org/sites/default/files/public/Research/Asia/0211pp_breslin.pdf). Accessed on August 16, 2012.

politics and the ideological incompatibility of China with the Western value system. China is neither a Westminster model of democracy nor does it have the American capitalist system of economy. There is an anomaly—that a relatively poor country which is both politically and economically different, is poised to become powerful in the international arena in the future.

### **CHINA'S SOFT POWER**

China has always had an attractive traditional culture, but now it is entering the realm of global popular culture as well. It is using the opportunity to reclaim its position as a global power. China has time and again made use of its soft power capabilities. The Chinese style emphasises high-profile gestures, such as rebuilding the Cambodian Parliament or Mozambique's Foreign Affairs Ministry. The elaborately staged 2008 Beijing Olympics enhanced China's reputation; Chinese novelist Gao Xingjian won China's first Nobel Prize for literature, generating worldwide interest in Chinese literature. The 2010 Shanghai Exposition attracted more than 70 million visitors. The Boao Forum for Asia on Hainan Island attracted nearly 2,000 Asian politicians and business leaders to what was billed as an "Asian Davos." Chinese aid programmes to Africa and Latin America are not limited by the institutional or human rights concerns that constrain Western aid. However, Beijing has also raised its defences. It has limited foreign films to a mere 20 per year, subsidised Chinese companies creating cultural products, and has restricted Chinese television shows that are imitations of Western entertainment programmes.<sup>4</sup>

Over the past few years, China has increased cultural exchange programmes with other states, by sending doctors and teachers to work abroad, welcoming students from other nations to study in China, and paying for language programmes abroad. The Chinese government is actively promoting the setting up of Confucius Institutes around the world. By the end of 2010, there were 322 Confucius Institutes and 369 Confucius Classrooms established in 96 countries, amongst them, some in the world's top universities. They

---

4. Joseph S. Nye, "Why China is Weak on Soft Power", *International Herald Tribune*, January 17, 2012, URL-<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/01/18/opinion/why-china-is-weak-on-soft-power.html>. Accessed on July 10, 2012.

adopt flexible teaching patterns and adapt to suit the local conditions when teaching the Chinese language and promoting Chinese culture in foreign primary schools, secondary schools, communities and enterprises.<sup>5</sup> China is actively promoting the use of English among its populace, to make them more competitive and to overcome the disadvantage that they face in the global market where the language of business is English.

While the Confucius Institutes are taking China to the world's classrooms, international students are also coming to Chinese classrooms. Official figures for 2011 revealed that there were 31 million higher education students in China—a 35 percent increase in five years. Currently, the largest number of international students in China is from Korea, followed by America and Japan.<sup>6</sup> Chinese students are also part of universities worldwide. In America alone, there are 157,558 Chinese students (22 percent of all international students). They represent China not just in culture, language and food habits but also represent the views as expressed by China on issues such as Taiwan and Tibet, by taking part in demonstrations, campaigns and debates.

Apart from international students, international tourists visiting the country have also increased dramatically. In 2009, China declared tourism, a strategic pillar of its national economy and policy. In 2011, the country once again demonstrated its commitment by putting tourism at the centre of economic growth and development. China received 56 million international tourists in 2010, generating US\$ 46 billion in international tourism receipts. China is also the world's third biggest source market, with Chinese outbound tourists spending around US\$ 55 billion in 2010.<sup>7</sup> This is a clear indication of the visibility that China is currently enjoying.

In terms of political principles, the era of Maoism (and Mao

---

5. Confucius Institute Online, URL-[http://college.chinese.cn/en/article/2009-08/29/content\\_22308.htm](http://college.chinese.cn/en/article/2009-08/29/content_22308.htm). Accessed on July 29, 2012.

6. Yojana Sharma, "China: Ambitious Plans to Attract Foreign Students", University World News, URL, <http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=20110312092008324>. Accessed on July 30, 2012.

7. World Tourism Organisation UNWTO, "Joining UNWTO/WTTC Global Campaign, China Reaffirms Commitment to Tourism", September 06, 2011 UNWTO, URL- <http://media.unwto.org/en/press-release/2011-09-06/joining-unwtowttc-global-campaign-china-reaffirms-commitment-tourism>. Accessed on July 20, 2012.

jackets) is long past. China has relegated Mao to a figurehead whose portraits adorn the walls of government offices but whose policies and ideas no longer govern the government. Although China remains authoritarian, the success of its political economy in tripling its Gross Domestic Product (GDP) over the past three decades has made it attractive to many developing countries. What further enhances the charm of China is the fact that Beijing has been able to achieve this growth without giving into Western pressures to open its economy. It has not only ignored the ideas on economic reform but has also brought about political change on its own terms. In parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the so-called "Beijing Consensus" of authoritarian government plus a market economy has become more popular than the previously dominant "Washington Consensus" of market economics with a democratic government. China has reinforced this attraction by economic aid and access to its growing market.<sup>8</sup> China is also preferred because it provides the aid without interfering in the internal matters of the sovereign states and because it requires very little collateral in return for the aid. Given its active role on the global economic stage, China called for the creation of a new currency to eventually replace the dollar as the world's standard, proposing a sweeping overhaul of global finance. It is part of Beijing's increasingly assertive approach in shaping the global response to the financial crisis.<sup>9</sup> This is also evident from the suggestions it has made at the BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa) Summit in New Delhi (2012), including an offer of renminbi loans to other BRICS members. There are clear lessons for the world, especially countries like India and Brazil, that are projected to play an important role in the international arena in the future, on how China is engaging with the various centres of political and economic powers.

China has also adjusted its diplomacy in several ways. It has come to the conclusion that soft power needs to be promoted by the state rather than assuming that it would be achieved as a result of its cultural attraction to that society or culture. This attraction has

8. Joseph Nye , "The Rise of China's Soft Power", *The Wall Street Journal Asia*, December 29, 2005, URL- [http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/1499/rise\\_of\\_chinas\\_soft\\_power.html](http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/publication/1499/rise_of_chinas_soft_power.html). Accessed on July 21, 2012.

9. Andrew Baston, "China Takes Aim at the Dollar", *Wall Street Journal*, March 24, 2009, URL-<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB123780272456212885.html>. Accessed on July 27, 2012.

to be developed. To achieve this aim, the country is aggressively trying to expand its global media presence. China's state run media organisations are being used to increase the country's soft power abroad. This was done for two reasons. The idea was to promote an alternative media perspective to challenge the hegemony of the Western international broadcasters, like Al Jazeera had done in the Middle East. The other was closely related to the use of the soft power of the media to promote the Chinese Communist Party's views and influence abroad as well as to have a canvas to portray the Chinese culture. It was also to inform the larger international audience about its reasons for acting the way it did. However, despite the spending by the government for setting up such an international media network, it still lacks global credibility and world class technical standards. The government's control of the contents of the programmes and the views broadcast is distinctly visible.<sup>10</sup>

To further ensure that its influence extends beyond its boundaries, China has become more active in cooperation on regional matters. It has joined the World Trade Organisation (WTO), contributed more than 3,000 troops to serve in the United Nations peace-keeping operations, is settling territorial disputes with its neighbours, has become more helpful on non-proliferation issues (including hosting the six-party talks on North Korea), and also become a party to a variety of regional organisations.

China's much-noted economic progress has been accompanied by a steady expansion in its cultural and diplomatic influence globally, especially in the developing world. The growth in this so-called soft power, has been apparent in Southeast Asia for a number of years. But it is also evident in Beijing's economic partnerships in Latin America, and in its surge of business deals and development projects in Africa.

China has been more skilful and has started to use its diplomacy and soft power judiciously in South Asia. Its growing use of "soft power" in Southeast Asia—non-military inducements including culture, diplomacy, foreign aid, trade and investment—has presented new challenges to American foreign policy. By downplaying many

---

10. Takashi Kitazume, "China Seeks Soft Power's Reach Via Media", *Japan Times*, URL-[www.japantimes.co.jp/print/nn20110314d2.html](http://www.japantimes.co.jp/print/nn20110314d2.html). Accessed on March 22, 2012.

conflicting interests and working collaboratively with countries and regional organisations on issues such as territorial disputes and trade, Beijing has largely allayed Southeast Asian fears concerning China's military or economic threat.

The 1990s witnessed not only parallel economic liberalisation programmes in China and Latin America but stronger economic ties between the two regions as well. Since then, Chinese investments in Latin America and bilateral trade have been growing significantly. Latin America's significance for China, of course, also extends beyond the economic realm. Latin America is a potential partner in China's ongoing quest to establish a "just and harmonious" world order.<sup>11</sup> What has further helped to strengthen this relationship between the countries of Latin America and China is the fact that there is a socialist leaning of the majority of the political parties of the region, with which China has developed party-to-party based collaborations and diplomacy. Building on simple commercial agreements, China has advanced to economic assistance, direct investment, a few joint ventures, and military ties, a kind of commitment that Latin America has been looking for a long time.

China-Africa relations combine pragmatic, economic and political means to achieve China's objective of establishing a world order that is peaceful and conducive to continued economic growth and stability at home. During the 1970s and late 1980s, China was supporting the political liberation movements in Africa. Today, China is supporting the economic liberation of Africa. The continent has natural resources, particularly oil and natural gas that China needs in order to develop. Chinese officials travel to Africa accompanied by delegations of bankers and business people, promoting political and economic commerce that expands China-Africa ties in a sustainable way. The Chinese and African governments have welcomed new trade relations, in part because there is no colonial past or difficult history to complicate matters and also because business is booming.<sup>12</sup> While trade and diplomacy are driven by China's new-found economic strength and subsequent demand for raw materials, China

---

11. Jiang Shixue, "The Chinese Foreign Policy Perspective", in Riordan Roett and Guadalupe Paz, eds., *China's Expansion into the Western Hemisphere: Implications for Latin America and the United States* (Washington: Brooking Institute Press, 2008), pp.34-35.

12. Fareed Zakaria, *The Post American World* (New Delhi: Penguin, 2008), p. 116.

continues to support longstanding programmes that deliver aid to underserved African citizens, such as sending teams of doctors and providing medicines. Following the framework set out by the first China-Africa Cooperation Forum in 2000, President Hu Jintao held a summit on Sino-African relations, which was the largest African summit outside the continent. China has pledged to continue to provide aid and assistance to the African nations. China has also cancelled much of the debt that was owed to it by the nations of the continent. China has extensive relations with Sudan and Zimbabwe, among other nations. It maintains relations with these countries despite UN restrictions and sanctions. China-Africa relations are set to advance through a combination of traditional financial aid and technical support programmes, along with rapidly growing bilateral trade and investment.

China is developing relations with the nations of the African continent as well as Latin America for their natural resources as also for the fact that most of these nations have been supportive of Taiwan at various international forums. China is trying to wean away this support in its larger bid to achieve its goal of Taiwan that is part of China. Induced by the generous aid that is being given by the Chinese government, a few (like South Africa) have switched allegiance from Taipei to Beijing.

Space has become another area where China is trying to exert its soft power. It is positioning itself as a space benefactor to the developing world—the same countries, in some cases, whose natural resources China covets. It developed and launched satellites for Brazil. China not only designed, built and launched a satellite for oil rich Nigeria but also combined it with a major loan to help pay the costs. It has signed a similar contract with Venezuela and is developing an earth observation satellite system with Bangladesh, Indonesia, Iran, Mongolia, Pakistan, Peru and Thailand.<sup>13</sup>

All these developments have meant that there is a possible reevolution of the world order. The opinion is that the rise of China

---

13. "Chinese Government White Paper", URL- <http://www.china.org.cn/english/features/book/183709.htm>. Accessed on August 06, 2012, and Jim Yardley, "China Uses Space Technology as Diplomatic Trump Card", *International Herald Tribune*, May 24, 2007. URL-<http://www.thetrumpet.com/?q=3698.1982.0.0>. Accessed on July 21, 2012.

will inevitably set up a 'China Wing' in the new world order. China is seen as the rising dragon that is breathing fire and consuming everything coming in its way. This may be a metaphor for the rapid growth that the Chinese economy is experiencing and in the process, devouring the ingredients of economic development like steel, coal, iron, etc. The Chinese hunger for these products is driving the prices of these commodities in the international market. The world perceives China as the ancient dragon, rising from its slumber because of the fact that China has achieved the building of the Lhasa-Beijing Railway, and Three Gorges Project, and has massive plans to make its countryside more industrial, besides its active participation in the negotiations with North Korea on the nuclear issue. Napoleon famously and probably apocryphally had said, "Let China sleep, for when China wakes, it will shake the world." And for almost two hundred years, China seemed to have followed his instructions, staying dormant and serving as little more than an arena in which the other great powers acted out their ambitions. However, China is awakening and this awakening is not only reshaping the economic and political landscape, but it is also getting shaped by the world into which it is rising.<sup>14</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The transformation of China's image and influence is due to a range of factors. China has benefited from missteps made by the United States, including its slow reaction to the Asian financial crisis and post-9/11 counter-terrorism myopia. But the transformation is also due to a growth in China's soft power. The concept of soft power has made a strong impression in China. According to National People's Congress (NPC) Deputy Peng Fuchun, "We should never underestimate the importance of building soft power, as an economic miracle is only one side of China's rising in the world area."<sup>15</sup> In the light of this statement, China is expanding its use of cultural, educational and diplomatic tools to increase its appeal across the world.

Ultimately, is the Chinese soft power working? The popularity of the 'Beijing Consensus' of an authoritarian government plus a

14. Zakaria, n.12, p.88.

15. "Soft Power: A New Focus" at China's Two Sessions, National People's Congress, People's Republic of China, URL: [www.npc.gov.cn](http://www.npc.gov.cn). Accessed on July 29, 2012.

market economy, a decline in the Southeast Asian leaders questioning China's rise, and the increasing popularity of the Chinese language and cultural studies are some examples of a working Chinese soft power.

However, there are limits to soft power. While states are trying to attract Chinese investments and deepen cultural ties, they are also suspicious of China and its policies. There is a negative impact of the growing influence of China. It is feared that this rise of China would be followed by an imminent growth in its military because of its increased military budget and rapid defence modernisation programmes. China is promoting the setting up of Chinese study programmes abroad; nonetheless, its desire to control the appointment of educationists, study material, etc is not appreciated and is proving counter-productive. Similarly, financial assistance to states with dubious human rights record or authoritarian regimes, tarnishes the image of a responsible power that China wishes to cultivate. China's reactions to Norway conferring the Nobel Peace Prize on Liu Xiaobo, and French President Sarkozy meeting the Dalai Lama are but a few examples of the Chinese authoritarian approach that is a hindrance to enhancing of its soft power. However, the relative flexibility demonstrated by Beijing in handling the issue of Chen Guangcheng has definitely improved its image.

As has been pointed out earlier, China does not follow the Western value system. However, it would seem that China is taking advantage of this difference. It is projecting an image of being different from the United States, Britain, and Germany, the other great powers of the past. Its contention is that since it is different, its rise should also be viewed differently. Western theories have been developed by studying Western experiences and are based on Western liberal traditions. Because of its unique historical roots, culture(s) and philosophies, China will not act/ behave like the previous great powers. Rather, it will be a "responsible great power" based on a cultural predilection for peace and harmony.<sup>16</sup>

China cannot or rather, should not, be framed with either malevolent or benevolent imaging or character. China's hard as

---

16. Breslin, n.3, p.12.

well as soft power must not be demonised or exaggerated.<sup>17</sup> It can be safely stated that for the foreseeable future, China would remain preoccupied with the process of building its 'comprehensive national power' and, hence, would seek cooperation with other countries, while avoiding a direct conflict.<sup>18</sup> The question that all are seeking an answer to, is, what will happen thereafter and how they can stop or control or manage the rise of China? What is worrying the world is not the rise of China in the economic sphere. What has it concerned is the impetus this would provide for the rise of China in the political as well as the military sphere.

The role that China plans to play in the future is one of a frontier nation that has all the best assets of the world at its call. Thus, one comes to the conclusion that China will continue to invest in soft power by increasing its diplomatic spending while endeavouring to safeguard its own interests by seeking to establish a more responsible position for itself in the international arena.

---

17. Mammo Muchie and Li Xing, "The Myths and Realities of the Rising Powers: Is China a Threat to the Existing World Order?", in Li Xing, ed., *The Rise of China and the Capitalist World Order* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), p. 65.

18. Jasjit Singh, "Security Concerns and China's Military Capabilities: The Eagle, the Dragon and the Elephant", in Alyssa Ayres and C. Raja Mohan, eds., *Power Realignment in Asia: China, India and the United States* (New Delhi: Sage Publication, 2009), p.123.



# INDIA'S ROLE IN REBUILDING AFGHANISTAN: REALITIES AND CHALLENGES

K.N. TENNYSON

Decades of political crisis in Afghanistan have seriously challenged peace, stability and socio-economic development of the Afghans, thereby, creating "widespread insecurity resulting from conflict, with resulting displacement and reduced humanitarian access, limited institutional capabilities, destroyed health and education, non-cohesive partnerships, market volatility and Afghanistan's landlocked status."<sup>1</sup> Today, the country's basic infrastructure such as communication, transportation, health services, and education is the world's lowest. This article explores the external powers' and India's diplomatic relations with Afghanistan over the years and examines the problems and prospects of India's role in rebuilding Afghanistan in the changing geo-strategic environment.

Afghanistan is strategically located, but the country is economically weak and geographically landlocked; therefore, it has little economic value to the outside world. Yet it has played an important role in the politics of the world for many centuries because

---

Dr K. N. Tennyson is an Associate Fellow at the Centre for Air Power Studies, New Delhi.

1. WFP, Executive Board First Regular Session, Rome February 8-11, 2010, *Projects for Executive Board Approval*, Agenda Item 9, at [http://one.wfp.org/operationals/current\\_operations/project\\_docs200063.pdf](http://one.wfp.org/operationals/current_operations/project_docs200063.pdf). Accessed on August 19, 2010.

of its geo-strategic location.<sup>2</sup> It was the country's pivotal geographical location that propelled the external powers to frequently intervene in the political affairs of Afghanistan to take control of the strategic location, because "[a]nyone who controls [it], controls the land routes between the Indian subcontinent, Iran, and resource rich Central Asia. Almost every major power, therefore, wanted a slice of the pie."<sup>3</sup> Underlining the geo-strategic importance of Afghanistan on its neighbours' policies, Hedayat Amin Arsala, former Vice President and senior adviser to the President of Afghanistan wrote, "[T]here is little doubt that Afghanistan's [geo-strategic] location will [cease] to have a significant influence on the [Asian] country's future political and economic prospects."<sup>4</sup>

### **INDIA-AFGHANISTAN RELATIONS: AN OVERVIEW**

Historical records indicate that India-Afghanistan relations go back centuries. But the disheartening fact about these relations is that though their economic cooperation continued uninterrupted, their political ties and strategic security interests were weakly rooted. Even during the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, Indian leaders did not condemn the Soviet action openly, though successive Indian leaders conveyed their disapproval of the Soviet action to the Soviet leaders and India continued its relations with the Soviet backed Kabul government. The Indian government's stand was appreciated by the Afghan government, but, regrettably, it was not well-received among the Afghan locals. Maj Gen Samay Ram, former Indian Military Attaché in Afghanistan, admits that many Afghans were disappointed with India and some even reacted adversely "for the lack of support when they most needed it and always expressed their feelings though in a guarded manner so as to show no disrespect to [India] or [Indians]."<sup>5</sup> What disheartened the Afghans the most was

2. Lt. Gen. K Davar, PVSM, AVSM (Retd), "Afghanistan Conundrum: An Analysis and the Way Forward," *USI Journals*, vol. CXXXIX, no. 575, January-March 2009. Accessed on June 5, 2010 at <http://usiofindia.org/Article/?pub=Journal&pubno=575&ano=309>
3. "Why Afghanistan is Important to India," August 30, 2005, at <http://www.rediff.com/news/2005/aug/30spec4.htm>. Accessed on May 3, 2010.
4. Hedayat Amin Arsala, "Revitalizing Afghanistan's Economy: The Government's Plan," in Robert I. Rotbert, ed., *Building A New Afghanistan* (Massachusetts: World Peace Foundation, 2007), p. 134.
5. Maj Gen Samay Ram, *The New Afghanistan: Pawn of America* (New Delhi: Manas Publications, 2004), p. 17.

the feeling that India, instead of following its independent foreign policy, had turned towards the Soviet policy.

### **INDIA'S ROLE IN REBUILDING AFGHANISTAN: POST-TALIBAN REGIME**

With the dethronement of the Taliban regime in Afghanistan, India once again rejuvenated its relations with the new Afghan government. The need for India to develop cordial relations with Afghanistan has become even more important in the changing geo-strategic environment. India needs Afghanistan because the latter is located at the crossroads of Southern Asia and the energy-rich Central Asian Countries (CAC) as well as Iran. India also needs to have Afghanistan on its side to contain Pakistan's uncongenial policies of manoeuvring allies among the Muslim countries to gain support for its stand on Kashmir and to thwart the use of Afghan soil by terrorist organisations trained and supported by Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) against India. Besides, there are about 4,000 Indian nationals engaged in various reconstruction projects in Afghanistan, and as many as 3,000 persons (down from 40,000 at the end of 1980s) of Indian origin belonging to the Sikh and Hindu communities are permanently settled in Afghanistan, in various provinces like Ghazni, Helmand, Jalalabad, Kabul, Kandahar, Khost and Parwan.<sup>6</sup>

In view of the fact that Afghanistan is an indispensable neighbour of India, successive Indian leaders took great interest in the political developments in Afghanistan, because any political problem and crisis that occurs in the region, directly or indirectly, spills over to India and affects India's strategic and security interests. After the dethronement of the Taliban regime, India, in pursuance of its policy to engage with the Afghans, participated in the UN-sponsored Bonn meeting (December 2001) as an observer. India also took part in the meeting of the group of 21 countries convened by the UN in New York on November 16, 2001, and December 6, 2001, which discussed the political and humanitarian situation in Afghanistan.<sup>7</sup> Since then, India has been actively participating in all the international

6. MEA, "Basic Fact About Afghanistan," at <http://www.mea.gov.in/foreignrelations/09fr01.pdf>. Accessed on April 26, 2010.

7. Parliament Question and Answer, "Formation of Government in Afghanistan," December 19, 2001, at <http://meaindia.nic.in/>. Accessed on April 6, 2010.

meetings and conferences held on working out programmes for the reconstruction of Afghanistan. India-Afghanistan relations have been further consolidated through a steady stream of high-level visits and engagement between the leaders of the two countries.

However, the most significant political development that took place between India and Afghanistan was the signing of the historic agreement between the two countries on a strategic partnership on October 4, 2011, in New Delhi during the visit of Afghanistan President Hamid Karzai to India. The agreement includes certain important issues like political and security cooperation, trade and economic cooperation, capacity development and education, social, cultural, civil society and people-to-people relations, which are of mutual benefit for both countries. For example, the terms on agreeing "to engage in close political cooperation" and "to establish a Strategic Dialogue to provide a framework for cooperation in the area of national security" once again reinforced the strong, vibrant and multifaceted relations between the two countries. Further, the two countries also agreed "to consult and cooperate at the United Nations and other international, regional and multilateral fora," through "[j]oint initiatives on key regional and international issues; [and s]upport for the reform and expansion of the United Nations Security Council, including a permanent seat for India in the Council." On the economic front, "In the interest of Afghanistan's sustainable development, and furthering economic interdependence between the two countries, the sides commit to deepening and diversifying cooperation in sectors such as agriculture, rural development, mining, industry, energy, information technology, communications, transport, including civil aviation, and any other areas that the sides may agree on."<sup>8</sup>

Today, India is involved actively in a wide range of reconstruction and rehabilitation programmes in Afghanistan. India's assistance programme ranges from the construction of roads to the Parliament building, agriculture to hydro-electric power projects and training for educational development to Afghan diplomats and the police force, all of which have significantly impacted the lives of the Afghans. For example, the power generation, transmission, and distribution

8. Text of "Agreement on Strategic Partnership between the Republic of India and the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan," October 4, 2011, at <http://im.rediff.com/news/2011/oct/04indo-afghan-strategic-agreement.pdf>

infrastructures of Afghanistan were completely destroyed in the ongoing war, as a result of which there were severe power (electricity) problems in the country, including in Kabul. Afghanistan's capital Kabul was, therefore, known as the "capital of darkness." However, the Indian government's initiatives have helped to turn Kabul from darkness to light with the successful completion of the 220 KV double circuit transmission line (202 km) from Pul-e-Khumri to Kabul and a 220/110/20 KV sub-station at Chimtala near Kabul.<sup>9</sup>

Another major infrastructure project initiated by India in Afghanistan was the construction of the Zaranj-Delaram road. Afghanistan, though geo-strategically located, has a poorly developed railway network system, and does not have access to a seaport. For this reason, Afghanistan's communications and international trade with its neighbours and other parts of the world depend entirely on land transit facilities. The Indian government, realising the need to connect Afghanistan with a seaport, took on the responsibility of constructing the 218-km-long Zaranj-Delaram road, as it could enhance the Afghan economy, and, at the same time, provide the Afghans easy access to other parts of the region. The road is of immense importance not only for the Afghans but also for India as it provides an alternative route (Pakistan prevents Indian goods from crossing its territory) and easy access of goods and personnel from Afghanistan to the Iranian border and then onward to India and vice versa, since Pakistan often refused to allow transport of goods from India to Afghanistan through its territory. India also gifted 400 buses (in May 2011, during his visit to Kabul India's Prime Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh announced that India will donate another "1,000 buses for Kabul and other municipalities with provision for maintenance support, training and infrastructure,") and three Airbus aircraft to the Afghan government to regenerate its bereft transport system.<sup>10</sup>

The above projects are, however, only a few of the many projects initiated by the Government of India for the development

---

9. Ministry of External Affairs, *Rebuilding Afghanistan: India at Work* (Government of India: Public Diplomacy Division, 2008), pp. 10-11; and Ministry of External Affairs, *India-Afghanistan Relations*, at <http://www.meaindia.nic.in/meaxpsite/pressrelease/2011/01/bilateralafghanistan.pdf>

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 12 & 14-15.

of Afghanistan. India is involved in all major developmental work in different parts of the country like construction of the Parliament building and Salma Dam power-cum-irrigation project in Herat province, telecommunication (upgradation of telephone exchanges in 11 provinces), improvement of health care (apart from the Indira Gandhi Institute of Child Health, the only hospital for children, India has also gifted ten ambulances and runs five medical missions in Afghanistan, located in Kabul, Kandahar, Jalalabad, Mazar-e-Sharif and Herat) and education (India is involved in the "Back to School" campaign, rebuilding of Habibia School, supplying of sports and educational material, and providing scholarships to Afghan scholars and technicians), and training of Afghan Army and police officers, diplomats, technicians, pilots and doctors among others. India has also gifted 285 vehicles, lots of musical instruments and winter clothing to the Afghan National Army.<sup>11</sup> Besides, several other projects like toilet-cum-sanitation complexes, expansion of TV coverage in 22 provinces of Afghanistan, digging of 26 tubewells in six provinces and expansion of TV coverage in 22 provinces of Afghanistan, etc were completed and handed over to the Afghan government.<sup>12</sup>

### **INDIA'S AFGHANISTAN POLICY: CHALLENGES AHEAD**

India's role in rebuilding Afghanistan is greatly appreciated and acknowledged by the Afghans and almost all the countries of the world. Reports indicate that the Afghans greatly appreciate the Indian humanitarian and development work – Afghan children want to study in India-run schools and patients want to be treated by Indian doctors and paramedics. *irinnews.org*, the website of the service of the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs, bringing out this fact, reported, "Whilst for many Westerners, Indian hospitals might offer a cheaper alternative, for many Afghans, India is their only option for reliable medical treatment." It further stated that in 2008, the Indian Embassy in Kabul had issued 5,224 medical visas, up

---

11. A detailed report of India's assistance programme to Afghanistan is documented in the Ministry of External Affairs, report, *India and Afghanistan A Development Partnership and Rebuilding Afghanistan: India at Work*.

12. Various rehabilitation and reconstruction projects carried out by India in Afghanistan are documented in various issues of the Indian Ministry of External Annual Report.

from 4,658 in 2007 and 3,844 in 2006.<sup>13</sup> The *Tehelka Magazine* brought out another interesting report which stated that 60 percent of the Afghans visiting India do so for medical proposes.<sup>14</sup>

But the challenges remain. The resurgence of the Taliban and other militant groups in Afghanistan and Pakistan's policy of trying to thwart India's relations with Afghanistan pose serious challenges to India's Afghanistan policy. Pakistani leaders have never reconciled to the grievances of the post-partition political problems and crises with India, and consider India as the "biggest threat" to their existence. As a result, Pakistan, since its inception, has followed an aggressive policy towards India. Sadly, Pakistan not only adopts a hostile policy towards India, but its policy towards Afghanistan too has been shaped on the basis of its relations with India. Thus, it keenly observes Afghanistan's attitude to India for fear of India's influence increasing. Pakistani leaders fear that India's effective relief, reconstruction and development work would win the hearts of the Afghans and weaken Pakistan's strategic and security interests; hence, Pakistan has clandestinely sponsored and assisted Afghan terrorist groups to target and threaten the workers involved in such developmental and rehabilitation work.

India faced stiff resistance from the Taliban militants during the construction of the 128-km-long Zaranj-Delaram road. Because of this, about 300 "highly trained commandos of the Indian Tibetan Border Police (ITBP) forces, which specialise in high-altitude operations in the Himalayas,"<sup>15</sup> were sent to protect the Indian Border Roads Organisation (BRO) workers engaged in the construction of the road. Despite the high security measures taken by India and the Afghan government, it resulted in the death of "roughly one human life" for every 1.5 km at the time of the construction of the road due to attacks by the Taliban.<sup>16</sup> More specifically, 11 Indians ("six were killed in terrorist

---

13. "Afghanistan: Patients Turn to India for Treatment," Kabul, June 29, 2009, at <http://www.irinnews.org/Report/85054/AFGHANISTAN-Patients-turn-to-India-for-treatment>. Accessed on.

14. "The Afghan Patient," *Tehelka Magazine*, vol. 7, issue 45, November 13, 2010, at [http://www.tehelka.com/story\\_main47.asp?filename=hub131110THE\\_AFGHAN\\_PATIENT.asp](http://www.tehelka.com/story_main47.asp?filename=hub131110THE_AFGHAN_PATIENT.asp) November 2, 2012.

15. Stephen F. Burgess, "India and South Asia: Towards a Benign Hegemony," in Harsh V. Pant, ed., *Indian Foreign Policy in a Unipolar World* (New Delhi: Routledge, 2009), p. 249.

16. "India Hands Over Zaranj-Delaram Highway to Afghanistan," *The Times of India* (New Delhi), January 22, 2009; and Ajay Kaul, "India Hands Over Strategic Zaranj-Delaram Highway to Afghans," *Hindustan Times* (New Delhi), January 22, 2009.

attacks and five died in accidents”) and 129 Afghans were killed during the construction period. It has been an appalling experience for both India and Afghanistan because nowhere in the world is there such a horrendous record of people killed per kilometre of road built.<sup>17</sup>

The killing of a senior Indian diplomat, one Defence Attaché, two security guards and 40 innocent Afghan nationals in an attack on the Indian Embassy on July 7, 2008, was the most shocking incident India had ever encountered in Afghanistan.<sup>18</sup> Indian Prime Minister, Dr Manmohan Singh joined his countrymen in condemning the brutal attack, expressed deep anguish and stated that he was “horrified to know of the death of (Indian) personnel in the dastardly terrorist attack on the (Indian) Embassy in Kabul.” Prime Minister Singh, undeterred by the terrorist activities, said that India’s rehabilitation and reconstruction programmes “must continue with renewed commitment.”<sup>19</sup>

Regrettably, Indians face serious threats not only in Afghanistan, but also in their own country from Pakistan trained and sponsored terrorist groups. While India and the rest of the world were still trying to cope with the ramifications of the attacks in the US, on October 1, 2001, the Legislative Assembly of the Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir was attacked by a suicide bomber (Jaish-e-Mohammed militant), killing about 29 persons, including four security personnel, and injuring 60 others.<sup>20</sup> This incident was followed by the terrorist attack on the Indian Parliament, the “bastion” of India’s democracy, on December 13, 2001, in which 9 policemen and Parliament staff members were killed by Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Tayyeba and Jaish-e-Mohammad terrorists.<sup>21</sup> Further, on January 2, 2002, a

---

17. Parliament Question and Answer, “Attacks on Indian Security Personnel in Afghanistan,” March 5, 2008 at <http://meaIndia.nic.in/>. Accessed on March 21, 2010; Manu Pubby, “India Hands over Afghan Road, Trade Can Now Flow via Iran,” *The Indian Express*, January 23, 2009; and Ministry of External Affairs, *India and Afghanistan: A Development Partnership*.

18. S. D. Muni, *India’s Foreign Policy The Democracy Dimension* (New Delhi: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 106; For a detailed report on Indians killed in Afghanistan, refer Parliament Question and Answer “Attacks on Indian Security Personnel in Afghanistan,” March 5, 2008, at <http://meaIndia.nic.in/>. Accessed on September 4, 2009.

19. Muni, n. 17.

20. “Fidayeen Storm J&K House, Kill 29,” *The Tribune* (Chandigarh), **October 2, 2001**.

21. For a detailed report of the terrorist attack on Indian Parliament House on December 13, 2001 see statement made by L.K. Advani, Union Home Minister on December 18, 2001 in the Lok Sabha, at <http://meaindia.nic.in/>. Accessed on April 23, 2010.

terrorist attack on the American Centre in Kolkata and another on an Army camp at Kalu Chak on May 14, 2002, resulted in the death of 34 persons, including 25 Army men and their family members.<sup>22</sup> Pakistan carried out these attacks with the aim to weaken India through a systematic policy of social and political fragmentation.

In view of the fact that terrorism is the greatest challenge to regional peace, stability and development, Indian Prime Minister, Manmohan Singh opined during the joint press conference with Afghan President Hamid Karzai in Kabul on May 12, 2011, that Afghanistan, India and Pakistan must “work unitedly” to eliminate terrorism from the region.<sup>23</sup> Yet, owing to the strong animosity between India and Pakistan, the relations of the countries of the region continue to remain strained. Pakistan’s policy towards India and Afghanistan has not witnessed any significant change, even to this day. Pakistan considers Afghanistan its legitimate sphere of influence and continuously projects to the international community that India is competing with it for influence in Afghanistan, in order to divert the attention of the international community from its own clandestine activities of supporting and abetting the extremist religious forces “to serve its ambitions in India as well as [in] Afghanistan.”<sup>24</sup> In January 2010, as the US and most its allies announced the withdrawal of their armed forces to pave the way for the Afghan National Army to take charge of their country’s security, there were various news reports from an undisclosed source of the Pakistan government that showed that Islamabad had launched a vicious campaign against India: “It is not possible for [Pakistan] to give India a role in Afghanistan as [India] is using Afghan soil to destabilise Pakistan. Also, India has been traditionally aligned with Russia and played a part in the destruction of Afghanistan.”<sup>25</sup> Because of such an aggressive and offensive policy adopted by Pakistan, every peace effort in the region

---

22 J. K. Baral and J.N. Mohanty, “The US War Against Terrorism: Implications for South Asia,” *Strategic Analysis*, vol. 26, no. 4, October-December, 2002, p. 513.

23. “Won’t do an Abbottabad on Pak: PM,” *The Times of India* (New Delhi), May 13, 2011

24. Kanwal Sibal, “We Must Avoid Pak Trap in Afghanistan,” April 5, 2010, at <http://www.orfonline.com/cms/sites/orfonline/modules/analysis/AnalysisDetail.html?cmaid=18759&mmacmaid=18760>. Accessed on September 21, 2010.

25. Quoted in “Pak Working Overtime to Counter India’s ‘Greater Role’ in Afghanistan,” January 26, 2010, at <http://news.oneindia.in/2010/01/26/pakworking-overtime-to-counter-indias-greaterrole.html>. Accessed on September 5, 2011.

has been thwarted even before it could be tested despite the rich dividend of cooperation that could accrue among the regional powers to bring about peace and stability in Afghanistan in particular and in the region in general.

## CONCLUSION

The internal political crisis and the external powers' intervention have completely devastated the socio-economic and political fabric of Afghanistan; therefore, the Afghans' overarching needs are better living conditions, infrastructure development, jobs and security. This calls for the international community to give more attention and utilise more of their energy and resources on improving the socio-economic conditions of the Afghans and not merely focus on defeating the Taliban and other militant groups. One needs to first and foremost understand the colossal impact of the political crisis on the life of the Afghans and pursue strategies to solve the problems. One such approach is to provide the Afghans with a certain measure of economic and political security and strengthen local governance. What the Afghans need today are not bullets but bread, butter and security. Peace, stability and development will remain a mere dream in the war-ravaged country if the external powers do not invest in its socio-economic development. While speculating on Afghanistan's future, one has to take into consideration not only the political aspects in a historical context, but also other aspects like its economy, society, culture, and religion. The socio-economic and political problems of the Afghans are so inter-linked that there cannot be a solution without looking into all these factors. There cannot be a single solution – the problems have to be dealt with holistically.

Since almost all the external and regional powers do not want the Islamic radical fundamentalist militant groups to once again take control of the country's political structure, Afghanistan's neighbouring countries should help the Afghan government to build strong and competent Afghan security forces to defend their country from anti-national elements. Without strong and competent national security forces, the country will remain weak and unstable, which, in turn, will impede peace, which is a prerequisite to the country's socio-economic development.

At the same time, the people of Afghanistan should also realise that external powers have a limited role to play—they cannot directly restore peace, stability and development in a complex country like Afghanistan—they can only assist the locals in the nation-building process. Therefore, the Afghans should participate, and be involved, in the reconstruction and development activities of their country. There is a need for greater Afghan participation in their country's reconstruction programmes. This would help them in identifying their needs and calibrate in their own setting the process of nation-building and, at the same time, increase their economic well-being.



# CHINA'S FOOTPRINT IN SOUTH ASIA: A CONCERN FOR INDIA

SANA HASHMI

Like it or not, China does matter.<sup>1</sup> This illustrious phrase by Gerald Segal has proved to be more relevant in the contemporary times than it was in 1999. With the advent of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the rise of China, as one of the biggest economies and militaries in the world, has become a matter of concern for most of the major countries of the world, particularly for its immediate neighbour, India. Besides the perennial India-China boundary dispute and the resultant lack of mutual trust, China's increasing military alliances with the South Asian countries have been India's reason for distress for a long time now. China also views military relations between itself and the South Asian countries as legitimate, well within the purview of the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence that cannot be questioned under normal circumstances.<sup>2</sup> However, keeping the Beijing-New Delhi strategic dynamics in mind, one finds that India's apprehensions are logical, and there are enough reasons to agree with India seeing China's South Asia moves as eminent danger to its long-term national security.

South Asia, as a region, has occupied a place of utmost importance in China's foreign policy. Surprisingly, China which is famous for its

---

**Sana Hashmi** is a Research Associate at the Centre for the Air Power Studies, New Delhi.

1. Gerald Segal, "Does China Matter", *Foreign Affairs*, vol. 78. no. 5, September-October, 1999, pp. 24-36.
2. John W. Garver, "China and South Asia", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 519, China's Foreign Relations, January 1992, pp. 67-85.

expansionist policies in Asia has no boundary issues with any of the countries of the region except Bhutan and India. With Bhutan, China is willing and endeavouring to resolve the boundary dispute at the earliest which leaves it with an unresolved boundary dispute with India only. Hence, the bone of contention between India and China remains a prolonged border dispute.

Ever since India gained independence on August 15, 1947, and the People's Republic of China was established on October 1, 1949, the border issue has been a major determinant in their relationship. In the contemporary times, the India-China boundary issue is one of the most long-drawn-out disputes. The boundary conflict, which has been considered as a potential flashpoint between the two Asian giants, gained prominence with the 1962 India-China War. The upshot of which was the occupation of Aksai Chin, an isolated part of Ladakh in Jammu and Kashmir bordering Pakistan, by China. After occupying a large tract (approximately 38,000 sq km) of Aksai Chin, China built a highway (National Highway 219) through it to connect with its northwestern province of Xinjiang, a Muslim-dominated province in China which India considers as illegal occupation.<sup>3</sup> The basic problem is two-fold. In the undefined northern part of the frontier, India's territory within Ladakh, an area the size of Switzerland, is occupied by China, and in the eastern part, China claims three times bigger Indian territory, including most of Arunachal Pradesh.<sup>4</sup> China has always been of the opinion that the common boundary between India and China had not been formally delimited and, therefore, needs to be negotiated between the two governments, and, if necessary, settled through joint surveys; while the Indian government claims the McMahon Line as the valid boundary between India and China.<sup>5</sup> As a consequence of the clash, the relations between the two Asian powers got strained but returned to normalcy with the resumption of diplomatic relations in 1976 and further improved with the visit of the then Prime Minister of India, Rajiv Gandhi in 1988. Against all odds, India-China relations are fairly congenial; however, it is only

3. "Why China Claims Arunachal Pradesh," available at <http://www.rediff.com/news/2006/nov/16sld1.htm>. Accessed on September 26, 2011.

4. "India and China's Territorial Disputes: Taking the High Ground," available at [http://www.economist.com/blogs/banyan/2010/08/india\\_and\\_chinas\\_territorial\\_disputes](http://www.economist.com/blogs/banyan/2010/08/india_and_chinas_territorial_disputes). Accessed on January 26, 2012.

5. Ibid.

the territorial dispute and China's ever-escalating linkages with other South Asian nations which make their relations somewhat unstable and apprehensive.

India shares borders with all the countries in the region and is well-placed geographically and strategically. It is considered to be a preeminent power in South Asia. However, of late, India's hegemony in South Asia has been lagging behind China which is gradually encroaching in the region. With China's accession to the World Trade Organisation in 2001, it has gained a large share in the major economies of the world and is on the verge of surpassing the US. This is one of the major reasons why the South Asian countries are moving towards China.

#### **CHINA IN SOUTH ASIA: IS INDIA NO LONGER A POWER?**

China has affable relations with almost all the countries of South Asia; however, of all, Pakistan is now referred to as an all-time ally of China. This benevolent relationship has not come from nowhere; in fact, it is an outcome of other South Asian countries' ever-escalating fix with the sole South Asian hegemon, India. The proverb the *enemy's enemy is a friend* has seldom proved erroneous in the history of international relations and is well-practised by China and Pakistan in relation to India. The Sino-Pakistan "special relationship" is a part of China's grand strategy that moulds the South Asian security environment.<sup>6</sup>

China's infrastructure building in Pakistan, particularly the construction of Gwadar port, the second major seaport, is a lucid confirmation of the growing Sino-Pakistan friendship. Empirical evidence reveals that 80 per cent of the total development cost of the port has been incurred by China, along with its human resource and military personnel positioned in the region.<sup>7</sup> Apart from infrastructure development and port-building in Pakistan, China also helps Pakistan in developing its military potential. Unsurprisingly, from 1965, China has been the largest arms supplier to Pakistan.<sup>8</sup> Furthermore, China assisted Pakistan to establish its nuclear weapon capabilities around

---

6. Mohan Malik, *China and India: Great Power Rivals* (USA: First Forum Press, 2011), p. 165.

7. Rahul Mishra and Sana Hashmi, "Gwadar Port: India's Achilles Heel", *Defence and Security Alert*, vol. 3, issue 10, July 2012, pp. 66-69.

8. Database from Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, *Arms Transfers*, November 6, 2009.

the same time that India tested its nuclear weapons successfully in 1998. Both countries have contended that their cooperation is within the ambit of international treaties.<sup>9</sup> Nevertheless, India sees Chinese support and aid to Pakistan as a key aspect of Beijing's perceived policy of 'encirclement' or constraint of India, as a means of preventing or delaying New Delhi's ability to challenge Beijing's region-wide influence.<sup>10</sup> It is most apt to state that the Sino-Pakistan *entente* leaves India to deal with the two troubling neighbours on the northern front; hence, further worsening the situation.

India's relations with Sri Lanka have seen their ups and downs over time. On the one hand, the Indian government's support to the country against the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) was largely responsible for the betterment of their relations; while, on the other, illegal smuggling of weapons from Indian supporters to the LTTE made the relations rather unstable. Introduction of the Indian Peace-keeping Force (IPKF) in the midst of the civil war, on India's terms, for the purpose of maintaining civil order, was a breakthrough in their relations. However, Beijing diplomatically played its card, stating that countries should be free to handle their own affairs and foreign relations as they see fit; China continued to give Sri Lanka low-keyed political support in the conflict over the withdrawal of the IPKF during 1989.<sup>11</sup> In the contemporary times, there have been reports of China building ports in Sri Lanka. First, it was the Hambantota port project along the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) in south Sri Lanka which went to the Chinese, and now, an ambitious programme to develop Colombo port has been given to the China Harbour Engineering Company (CHEC) and Sino-Hydro Corporation.<sup>12</sup> Like other countries of the region, Sri Lanka defends China's naval presence in the IOR which it perceives as beneficial for trade purposes and also insists that the multi-million

9. John W. Garver, "The Future of Sino-Pakistan Entente Cordiale", in Francine Michael Chambers, ed., *South Asia in 2020: Future Strategic Balances and Alliances* (USA: Strategic Studies Institute, 2002), pp. 385-448.

10. "China-Pakistan Relations," available at <http://www.cfr.org/china/china-pakistan-relations/p10070#p3>. Accessed on November 11, 2012.

11. John W. Garver, "China and South Asia", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, vol. 519, China's Foreign Relations, January, 1992, pp. 67-85.

12. "China to Build Another Port in Sri Lanka", available at, [http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2010-09-17/india/28271297\\_1\\_colombo-port-indian-ports-chinese-consortium](http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2010-09-17/india/28271297_1_colombo-port-indian-ports-chinese-consortium). Accessed on September 26, 2012.

dollar funding for ports is purely a commercial interest.<sup>13</sup>

Sino-Bangladesh relations can be best described as a recent development. Despite China's refusal to accept Bangladesh as a separate state after its liberation war of 1971 with Pakistan, and its blocking Bangladesh's entry to the United Nations (UN) in 1972 by using its veto power, their relations have taken a different path altogether, with the two becoming partners in both good and bad times. Their diplomatic relations were initiated in 1976 in the midst of problems between India and Bangladesh over the Farakka Barrage. For China, recognising Bangladesh and establishing contacts with it was no more than an endeavour to increase its influence and reduce India's hegemony in the region. Interestingly, in spite of India's reluctance, Bangladesh, along with Pakistan, were the South Asian countries that lobbied for China's entry into the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) as an observer. There have been reports of China being approached by Bangladesh for assistance to build a multi-billion dollar deep seaport, south of Chittagong.<sup>14</sup> India is well aware that this assistance would help China in establishing its foothold in the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean, and perceives it as another ploy to encircle India.

From India's point of view, two small Himalayan and landlocked states, Nepal and Bhutan, hold immense importance in the gamut of India's foreign policy. Nepal regarding India as an elder brother has become a thing of the past, as China is gradually overtaking India's position in Nepal. High level official visits between China and Nepal in the past few years are evidence of China's increasing influence in Nepal. Wen Jiabao's January 2012 visit is a perfect example of enhanced Sino-Nepal relations, which is worrisome for India. While China is rising, Nepal has been undergoing radical changes, and despite these internal upheavals, the Nepalese perception of a rising China continues to be favourable and friendly.<sup>15</sup> In an

---

13. "Sri Lanka Defends China's Presence in Indian Ocean," available at <http://www.deccanherald.com/content/298354/sri-lanka-defends-chinas-presence.html>. Accessed on December 19, 2012.

14. "Bangladesh Pins Hope on Chittagong Port," available at <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-19462142>. Accessed on September 26, 2012.

15. Shambhu Ram Simkhada, "Nepal: A Benign Neighbourhood Power" in S. D. Muni and Tan Tai, eds., *Yong's A Resurgent China: South Asia Perspectives* (India: Routledge, 2012), pp. 145-175.

attempt to take Nepal under its control, China is endeavouring to develop infrastructure and maintain peace and stability in the small Himalayan state. There is a society called "Friends of the Monarchy" in Nepal which has been urging China to take up the project of building a highway link from Tibet to eastern Nepal along the Kosi river; moreover, Nepal now wants the existing Tibet-Nepal rail link to come all the way to Kathmandu.<sup>16</sup> Interestingly, while it is true that the days when India played a lead role in Nepal are gone, it is equally true that China is no longer a smaller player in Nepal, which, after China's invasion of Tibet, was considered as the buffer state between India and China.<sup>17</sup> With regard to Bhutan, despite no diplomatic relations between Bhutan and China, their relations are growing like never before. The meeting of the heads of the two countries in June 2012 along the sidelines of the Rio+20 Summit and their eagerness to solve the border dispute are cases in point. However, Bhutan remains India-centric and Sino-Bhutan relations are still in an embryonic stage.

It was not so long ago that Afghanistan was nowhere in China's foreign policy. As the foreign policy environment has changed, Afghanistan has begun to occupy a place of significance in China's foreign policy now. Lately, Wang Min, China's deputy permanent representative to the UN, urged the international community to respect the sovereignty and political independence of Afghanistan when the country holds the planned presidential election in 2014.<sup>18</sup> There is a possibility that after the US withdraws its forces from Afghanistan in 2014, China will attempt to expand its influence in Afghanistan as well and become the next major player in the country, in a constructive way, of course. With regard to relations with Afghanistan, due to the Taliban's presence in Afghanistan, China has limited goals in the region and its efforts focus on solidifying the political basis of the bilateral relationship, promoting economic relations and providing financial and other assistance to

---

16. Sangeeta Thapliyal, "China's Approach and Policies Towards Nepal and Bhutan, in Muni and Tai, *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

17. Yubaraj Ghimire, "Is India Losing its Lead?", *The Indian Express*, December 10, 2012.

18. "China Urges International Community to Respect Afghanistan's Political Independence," available at [http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-12/20/c\\_132051608.htm](http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/china/2012-12/20/c_132051608.htm). Accessed on December 20, 2012.

Afghanistan.<sup>19</sup> What might be bothersome for India is the latest agreement between China and Afghanistan for the training of the Afghan police forces by China and its ever-increasing investment in the mining and mineral sector in Afghanistan. However, as of now, mainly because of the presence of the US and Taliban, along with the profusion of political upheavals in the country, China's cordial relations with Afghanistan do not comprise a matter of concern for India, but there is a possibility that these relations might become problematic for India once the US leaves the country.

Infrastructure building and military build-up by China are not the only tribulations for India; the military dimension is well-integrated into China's relationship with the South Asian countries, fully and proactively; moreover, arms exports, production facilities and technology assistance also constitute important parts of the relationship.<sup>20</sup> Predictably, the People's Liberation Army Navy (PLAN) has bases in many of the ports constructed by China in these countries.

China's reaching out to South Asia for establishing a foothold in the region is foreseen by the strategic community of the West as a tactic to ensure its hegemony in the region and in a broader context, in the IOR, which is being termed by the West as the "String of Pearls". This term entails that China is maintaining close proximity with countries like Pakistan, Myanmar, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan and Sri Lanka by providing aid, arms and assistance in constructing ports, predominantly to encircle India, and threaten its central and strategic location in the IOR. The reason for which has been speculated as Beijing's priority to safeguard its access to oil, given that China imports 200 million tonnes of oil each year and 80 per cent of that travels across the Indian Ocean. China has, therefore, developed a series of major ports and, in the future, could potentially also position naval military craft.<sup>21</sup>

---

19. "China and Afghanistan: China's Interests, Stances and Perspectives," available at [http://csis.org/files/publication/120322\\_Zhao\\_ChinaAfghan\\_web.pdf](http://csis.org/files/publication/120322_Zhao_ChinaAfghan_web.pdf). Accessed on December 2, 2012.

20. Leela Ponappa, "Introduction", in M. Rasgotra's *China and South Asia: Developments and Trends* (New Delhi: Academic Foundation), pp. 15-21.

21. "Chinese-built Port in Sri Lanka Fuels Indian Fears Beijing is Encircling Them," available at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/nov/18/port-sri-lanka-india-china>. Accessed on September 23, 2012.

## CONCLUSION

China's presence in South Asia bothers not only India, but the US also, since China is the only country that has the potential to challenge US domination in the world. The US has very recently redeveloped its interest in Asia, particularly the Asia-Pacific through the *Rebalancing in Asia* strategy. The US' entry into the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) led East Asia Summit (EAS) in 2011 was clear evidence of its rejuvenated interest in the Asia-Pacific region. President Barack Obama, in his second term in the White House, seems to be taking keen interest in South Asia and is thinking on the lines of reorganising the US' South Asia policy which would be aimed at balancing China's influence in South Asia—which is a relief for India as it looks towards the US to balance the influence of China.

It is rather miraculous that once semi-colonised and humiliated China has become the largest trading partner of almost all the major countries of the world; the South Asian countries are no exception to this phenomenon. China is developing exceptionally cordial and harmonious relations with each one of them, perhaps with the aim of encircling India. India, on the other hand, does not have the same rapport with its immediate neighbours. China has, undoubtedly, an upper hand with regard to relations with the South Asian countries.

The major problem with the Indian government is that even 65 years after partition and three wars between India and Pakistan, India is somewhat obsessed with Pakistan and has neglected the other countries of South Asia. Moreover, India has paid too much heed to its Southeast Asian neighbours and downplayed its relations with South Asia.

The mutual interests of India and China in South Asia and for that matter in the whole of Asia, along with China's territorial claims on Indian territory, complicate their relations. However, China and these South Asian countries maintain that the infrastructure building in the respective countries is meant to enhance the economic development of these developing countries and to further promote the Chinese economy. China has always claimed that there are no ulterior motives behind its relations with these developing countries and that they are purely guided by economic motives. It is beyond the shadow of a doubt that

China has already established its robust foothold in the region which has damaged India-China relations and has the potential for further damage. It is considered that China's friendly ties with these nations comprise an endeavour to curtail India's hegemony in South Asia and prevent it from becoming a major player in the international order. China's increased presence in the region has been deemed as the most potential threat for India.

Indubitably, India-China relations are going to play a huge role in South Asia and to a great extent, are going to shape the evolving security architecture in the region. Together, they can change the course of the region. The rise of a great power is never frictionless, hence, China should address the apprehensions associated with its rise. It is noteworthy that almost all the countries of the South Asian region except India are in a tumultuous state; hence, these countries expect India to take a major role for ensuring overall prosperity in the region in general and its growth in particular. There is an urgent need for cooperation among the two Asian giants—India and China. It is high time they realised that the competition should be on healthy terms. Implementing more confidence-building measures is the need of the hour. India should adopt a two-pronged strategy while dealing with China. On the one hand, India should maintain harmonious relations with China; while, on the other, it needs to be more vigilant of China's actions and should keep an eye on its activities in South Asia. The Sino-Pakistan alliance is the main security concern for India; the rest can be more or less handled. What India needs to do is address the predicaments with Pakistan and try to sustain harmonious relations with both China and Pakistan in order to avoid any further clashes and instability in the region.

There is a sense of urgency for India to extend and improve its relations with the far Eastern and Southeast Asian countries in order to balance China in a comprehensive manner, but not at the cost of its relations with the South Asian countries. India should not devalue China's assertive claims on its territories in Arunachal Pradesh and should bring the issue of oil exploration activities in the South China Sea on an international platform which, in a way, would put pressure on China and improve India's relations with other countries involved in the South China Sea dispute.

India's precarious relations with the South Asian countries, to a large extent, also amount to the failure of SAARC which is seen by all the other South Asian nations as India-dominated. The South Asian countries are apprehensive of India's increased ascendancy in the region: hence, China's presence is welcomed by all the countries except India, and perceived as an opportunity to countervail India. Nevertheless, India should not forget the importance of its fellow South Asian countries and should attempt to improve relations with them so that China does not take advantage of India's problems with them. It would suffice to say that Beijing's goal of becoming a global power is no longer hidden, and sharp opposition by India in the case of unfavourable instances by China is highly recommended.

Since India and China, the two Asian giants, are growing at a fast rate, the future of the region is unpredictable; nonetheless, what the impact of the power struggle between India and China in South Asia would be, remains to be seen. There are no two views on the point that the future of the region would be determined by the relations between India and China, and escalated Sino-South Asia relations, making India lose its ascendancy in the region. It is high time India started taking initiatives to improve its relations with the South Asian countries, making it an area of priority, or else, it may become less influential among the countries of South Asia.

# POLITICS OF ETHNICITY IN AFGHANISTAN: UNDERSTANDING THE PASHTUNS AND THE MINOR ETHNIC GROUPS

**RHEA ABRAHAM**

Afghanistan continues to occupy a pivotal position in global politics due to its geo-strategic location and historical tendencies of conflict and governance. However, the ceaseless civil war and turmoil in Afghanistan is a by-product of the Cold War, great power rivalries, Pakistan's dream of controlling the country in the name of 'strategic depth' and also the struggle between the ethnic composition of the country, the majority Pashtuns, on the one side, in an incessant flux to reestablish their dominance, and the other ethnic groups trying to consolidate adequate representation in the political functioning of Afghanistan, on the other.

Therefore, to understand a country like Afghanistan, it not only becomes important to understand the region as a factor but needs a dissection of the varied dynamics of its society, mainly its ethnic constraint, which directly defines and deconstructs the political architecture of the country and its relations with regard to the world. Also, such an exercise, emphasising and deciphering the importance of the Pashtuns and ethnicity in Afghanistan aims

---

**Rhea Abraham** is a Research Associate at the Centre for Air Power Studies, New Delhi.

to help in conceptualising a way out for India and the world in the restructuring of Afghanistan post the withdrawal of US forces.

### **THE PASHTUNS**

The Pashtuns, being one of the largest ethnic groups in Afghanistan, also constitute a large number of tribes that share a common ancestry. Ethnic groups are an amalgamation of tribal groups<sup>1</sup> which aspire for their own nation-state and are defined by a common ancestry, history, culture, specific homeland and a named population. Most importantly, ethnic groups form a part of an individual's perceptions, behavioural pattern and interactions and influence the identity of a nation<sup>2</sup> as is seen in the broader functioning of Pashtun nationalism in the country.

Tribes, on the other hand, are defined as social organisations based on kinship and locality, with evolving cultures and solid, well structured genealogy. A tribal society is segmented by the principle of descent from a common ancestor and is a non-state form of politically organised social organisation. Being the main functioning units in many parts of Afghanistan, including the central, eastern and southern hinterlands, these tribal identities have become a matter of negotiations in larger political agitations. Examples of Pashtun tribes include the Mohmands and Orakzais.

#### *Defining Pashtuns*

The origin of the Pashtuns as an ethnic entity emerges from southern Afghanistan and is at present, straddled between Afghanistan and Pakistan as a community, stretching from the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) in Pakistan and the Kunar province of Afghanistan to Herat, bordering Iran. The Pashtuns in terms of population constitute the most influential historically and politically active members of the elite groups in Afghanistan and, thereby, constitute an overall Afghan national identity. Though there is a limited census on the Pashtun population in the public domain, one can estimate the total number to

- 
1. Arturo G. Munoz, *Pashtun Tribalism and Ethnic Nationalism* (Virginia: Tribal Analysis Centre, March 2010), <http://www.tribalanalysiscenter.com/PDF-TAC/Pashtun%20Tribalism%20and%20Ethnic%20Nationalism.pdf>. Accessed on November 29, 2012.
  2. Stuart J. Kaufman, "Ethnicity as a Generator of Conflict", in Karl Cordell and Stefan Wolff, ed., *Routledge Handbook of Ethnic Conflict* (New York: Routledge, 2011).

be around 50 million people, 42 percent of whom are in Afghanistan.<sup>3</sup> Also, there are around 60 Pashtun tribes and 400 sub-tribes, with the Durrani tribal federation, mainly the tribes of the Barakzai, Popalzai and Alikozai, holding supremacy since the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>4</sup>

Qais Abdur Rashid, believed to be the ancestor of all Pashtuns had four sons, Sarbari, Batani, Ghargasht and Karlani.<sup>5</sup> The bloodline subsequently descends from their children: Sharjnun and Kharshbun; Ismail, Ashbun, Kajin and a daughter Bibi Matu; Danay, Babay and Mando; and Koday and Kakay respectively who wholly form the lineage of the Pashtuns and comprise five major confederations: the Durrani or Abdali (western), Ghilzai and Karlanri (hill tribes), Sarbari (eastern) and Ghurghusct (southern).<sup>6</sup>

One has to be born into the tribe to be acknowledged as a Pashtun except in certain circumstances wherein through consensus, outsiders may be allowed residence; or if outsiders honour the tribal code of behaviour and intermarry with the tribe, they may be accepted as members after a generation or two.<sup>7</sup> Some tribes like the Ghilzai; or Afridi are connected to the Pashtuns by adoption or through female descent, with Bibi Matu being the mother of all Ghilzai; hence, making the genealogy of the Pashtuns' heterogeneous. In terms of toponymy, the tribes that originate from the southern or western parts of Afghanistan have a zai affixed to them such as the Yusufzai of Swat but the eastern tribes, such as the Afridi, Mohmand, Zadran and tribes in Khost such as Tani and Ghorboz,<sup>8</sup> lack such a typology. The Pashtuns are organised in a patrilineal segmentary lineage system where the tribe splits amongst multiple kin groups, with inherent rivalry among the siblings. However, in terms of a common external threat, the multiple tribes come together as a common tribe

3. Ian S. Livingstone and Michael O. Hanlon, "Afghanistan Index" (NY: Brookings Institution, May 2012), <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Programs/foreign%20policy/afghanistan%20index/index20120516.pdf>. Accessed on December 5, 2012.

4. "Afghanistan's Tribal Complexity: In the Dark", *The Economist*, January 31, 2008, [www.economist.com/node/10608929](http://www.economist.com/node/10608929). Accessed on November 29, 2012.

5. Munoz, n. 1.

6. Erin Foster and Wiebke Lamer, "Afghan Ethnic Groups: A Brief Investigation" (USA: Civil Military Fusion Centre, August 2011), [http://www.cimicweb.org/Documents/CFC%20AFG%20Social%20Well-being%20Archive/CFC\\_Afg\\_Monthly\\_Ethnic\\_Groups\\_Aug2011%20v1.pdf](http://www.cimicweb.org/Documents/CFC%20AFG%20Social%20Well-being%20Archive/CFC_Afg_Monthly_Ethnic_Groups_Aug2011%20v1.pdf). Accessed on December 30, 2012.

7. Bernt Glatzer, "The Pashtun Tribal System", in G. Pfeffer and D. K. Behera, eds., *Concept of Tribal Society* (New Delhi: Concept Publishers, 2002), pp.265-282.

8. Ibid.

and are overarched by a common tribal system despite differences.<sup>9</sup> Also, Pashtuns are allowed to hold several tribal identities such as tribal confederation, tribe, sub-tribe, *qawm* or clan, which help in maintaining the complex Pashtun system.

All Pashtuns follow the code of Pashtunwali that embodies several codes of conduct<sup>10</sup> which include:

- *Nang* or honour, involving the protection of sexual propriety and female relatives.
- *Badal* or revenge, which ensures defensive aggregations of tribesmen from each other.<sup>11</sup>
- *Taborwali* or cousin enmity, the invariable presence of growing hostility within a tribe frequently fuels a secession process that results in the creation of new tribal entities. In most Pashtun clans, therefore, there is great mistrust and frequent violence between paternal cousins that develops into family feuds for centuries.
- *Melmastia* or hospitality, which underlines the importance of maintaining loyalty to friends and allies, and providing protection to whoever seeks it, including an enemy, as long as a person is in a Pashtun's home.
- The Pashtun ideal of equality based on the tribal system, where all Pashtuns are considered equal, with economic inequality being part of individual capacity. Also, social nearness and tribal order marks lines of conflict and solidarity.<sup>12</sup>
- *Perawano*, where a Pashtun descendant must adhere to Pashtun culture, kin and pedigree, otherwise he may face expulsion from the Pashtun society.
- Pashtun tribes are localised to various geographical degrees such as well defined boundaries, except the Ghilzai; tribe who are scattered all over Afghanistan. Localised tribes own common and undivided property with an equal right of use. Belonging to a tribe, therefore, allows access to the land owned by that tribe.

---

9. Munoz, n. 1.

10. Richard Tod Strickland, "The Way of the Pashtun: Pashtunwali", *Canadian Army Journal*, vol. 10, no.4, 2007, pp. 44-55, [http://www.army.forces.gc.ca/caj/documents/vol\\_10/iss\\_3/CAJ\\_vol10.3\\_09\\_e.pdf](http://www.army.forces.gc.ca/caj/documents/vol_10/iss_3/CAJ_vol10.3_09_e.pdf). Accessed on December 7, 2012.

11. "Pashtun Tribal Dynamics" (Virginia: Tribal Analysis Center, October 2009), <http://www.tribalanalysiscenter.com/PDF-TAC/Pashtun%20Tribal%20Dynamics.pdf>. Accessed on November 30, 2012.

12. Glatzer, n. 7.

### *The Politics of the Pashtuns*

Defending one's land means defending the family and security of the tribe. Therefore, those tribes defined within a geographical area are able to identify a coherent common policy of governance. These decisions are usually discussed and culminated in *jirgas* or community councils, which are attended, and participated in, by experienced male members of the tribe.<sup>13</sup> There are no elected leaders and decisions are made through consensus which is binding finally for every participant. Open defiance may result in punishment, expulsion or ostracism from the layers of protection the *jirga* system offers. Only *jirgas* at the provincial level need a system of representation and are met only when a problem arises.

Tribal leadership is normally vested in *khans* and *maliks*, leading members of the tribe, who represent their extended families in *jirgas*. The greater and more historic the influence of the *khan khel*, the more stable becomes the tribe.<sup>14</sup> The leaders are recognised and accepted by the prestige factors of the individual families they represent such as land holdings, personal wealth and knowledge, descent from heroic or highly religious ancestors.<sup>15</sup> However, the positions are nominally hereditary and sons may be allowed to inherit only depending on their capabilities.<sup>16</sup> The separate *jirgas* also select a chief, whose authority varies from tribe to tribe, as the leaders are only able to exert influence rather than actual authority. The decision of the leader is governed mainly by the tribal *jirga's* consensus decision and the tribal *arbakai* warriors, with their tribal policing arrangements available to enforce it. Therefore, in order to retain tribal protection and support, an individual is required to obey the *jirga's* decisions that govern his behaviour and require his loyalty even in terms of physical danger.<sup>17</sup>

---

13. Christian Bleuer, "The Afghanistan Analyst Bibliography" (USA: The Afghanistan Analyst, 2011), n. 6, [http://www.airforce.forces.gc.ca/CFAWC/Contemporary\\_Studies/2010/2010-Jan/2010-01\\_The\\_Afghanistan\\_Analyst\\_Bibliography\\_e.asp](http://www.airforce.forces.gc.ca/CFAWC/Contemporary_Studies/2010/2010-Jan/2010-01_The_Afghanistan_Analyst_Bibliography_e.asp). Accessed on November 29, 2012.

14. n. 11.

15. Sherzaman Taizi, *Jirga System in Tribal Life* (Virginia: Tribal Analysis Centre, 2007), <http://www.tribalanalysiscenter.com/PDF-TAC/Jirga%20System%20in%20Tribal%20Life.pdf>. Accessed on December 5, 2012.

16. Neamat Nojumi, et al., *Afghanistan's Systems of Justice: Formal, Traditional and Customary* (Boston: Tufts University, 2004), <http://www.gmu.edu/depts/crdc/neamat1.pdf>. Accessed on December 1, 2012.

17. Taizi, n. 15.

In return, the *jirga* system provides protection from personal enemies and mediation between his tribe and the government. Under this democratic form of local self-government, the tribesman is closely governed by his own relatives within a system.

Continuing in the same format, the new government of Afghanistan also instilled a *loya jirga* or Grand Assembly, on the same guidelines to put forward the rules and regulations of the functioning of the Government of Afghanistan. Therefore, despite having elements of Western-style democracy that was introduced since 2001, the new government was supported by traditional Afghan patterns of decision-making composed of designated notables for making authoritative decisions or dispensing justice. At present, at the national level, the *loya jirga* convenes an assembly of about 1,500 delegates from all over Afghanistan and helps in deciding the policies of the country. However, criticism also exists in regard to these *jirgas* as these competing mechanisms resist change and modernisation, mainly by minimising the role of women in democratic governance.<sup>18</sup>

### *Islam and Pashtuns*

In his book, *Clash of Civilizations*, Samuel Huntington describes ethnicity as the identity of the Cold War era and religion as the identity and issue of conflict in the post Cold War era.<sup>19</sup> Ethnicity can be defined as having a common name, shared historical and cultural linkages which deal with territorially-based descent rather than a religious content.<sup>20</sup> Religion, on the other hand, is defined as belief and practices, institutionally established over a period of time.

The Pashtuns as an ethnic community are predominantly Sunni Muslims and follow the moderate version of the Hanafi School of Islam. The average Pashtun tribesman looks more to Pashtunwali than to the *Sharia* as a guide for his day-to-day life. The following Table 1 briefly points out the differences between *Sharia* laws and the code of the Pashtunwali:<sup>21</sup>

---

18. Glatzer, n. 7, pp.265-282.

19. Jonathan Fox, "Integrating Religion into International Relations Theory", in Jeffrey Haynes, ed., *Routledge Book of Religion and Politics* (NY: Routledge, 2009).

20. Joseph Ruane and Jennifer Todd, "Ethnicity and Religion" in Cordell and Wolff, eds., n.2.

21. Strickland, n. 10.

**Table 1**

<b>Social Issue</b>	<b>Sharia</b>	<b>Pashtunwali</b>
Proof of Adultery	Must be proven by four eyewitnesses	May be proven based on hearsay alone
Divorce	Relatively easy to obtain	Almost impossible to obtain
Right of Women to Inherit Property and Money	Sanctioned	Not allowed
Retribution	May be total	Must be limited

However, at the same time, the Pashtuns follow Islam that is closely influenced by folk-Islam and superstitions that are derived from various Sufi schools, adopted directly by the Shamanistic Afghans even before the arrival of the Muslim armies in Afghanistan.<sup>22</sup> Also, in terms of religious supremacy, the power of the *mullah* is mainly vested during periods of warfare or social turbulence where he stands as a consoler and strategist who foresees the war fought against Islam and its people.<sup>23</sup> Also, the religious affiliation among Pashtuns changes from tribe to tribe.

In terms of holy war or *jihad*, traditional Pashtuns believe that suicide bombing is unethical and against the Pashtun martial ethics of living to fight another day.<sup>24</sup> This stand has also largely contributed as an aspect of the counter-terrorism and counter-insurgency operations that some ethnic groups have been supporting in Afghanistan. Therefore, radical Islam has not been able to wholly undermine Pashtun nationalism, as their ethnicity has proved to be an even greater motivating factor for the people of the region. However, Pakistan has been able to enforce the Taliban factor to an extent, to achieve its strategic objectives in the region such as a destabilisation of the demand for a separate state for the Pashtuns and strengthening the role of Pakistan in Afghanistan vis-a-vis India. The Taliban, being mostly Pashtuns, have not, however, recognised the Durand Line, but have brought in the concept of radical Islam into the ethnic borders of Pashtunism. The Taliban

22. Ibid.

23. n. 11.

24. Munoz, n. 1.

have also stayed away from tribal politics and only projected themselves as guardians of Islam.<sup>25</sup>

### **PASHTUNS AND OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS**

The Pashtuns, as a majority ethnic group in Afghanistan, have had contentious relations with other tribes and ethnic groups in the country. Considered supreme in governance and bloodline, the Pashtuns have fostered enmity with the other groups but also tried to accommodate their requirements in the course of time. Most importantly, rivalry among Pashtun tribes over the years has indirectly subdued and disturbed the regional and social environment of the other ethnic groups such as the Tajiks, Uzbeks and Hazaras, who have voiced their concerns to the international community and have played a key role in the anti-Taliban operations in Afghanistan.

The other ethnic groups in Afghanistan include the Tajiks of Afghanistan (27 percent of the total population) who continue to maintain kinship with their neighbouring ethnic brothers and sisters in Tajikistan. They are mainly settled in northern, northwestern and western Afghanistan.<sup>26</sup> They have no set social structure and live in settled communities. Prominent Tajiks include Habibullah Khan and Burhanuddin Rabbani who have played instrumental roles in the restructuring of the country and in anti-Taliban operations. They constitute a large majority in the Afghan Army and in educational institutions, along with the Pashtuns.

The Hazaras (9 percent)<sup>27</sup> live in the *hazarajat*, the mountainous central provinces of Afghanistan. However, most of the Hazaras were victimised during the 18<sup>th</sup> century by the Pashtuns which led to a decrease in their population and a resettlement in western Turkestan. They are mostly Shia Muslims and Ismailis and thereby fall victim to easy discrimination in the region. The Hazaras are also present in Quetta region of Pakistan. In the 1980s, the Hazaras had their own

---

25. Bernt Glazer, "Being Pashtun-Being Muslim: Concept of Person and War in Afghanistan", <http://www.khyber.org/publications/021-025/glatzer1998.pdf>. Accessed on December 2, 2012

26. Erin Foster and Wiebke Lamer, "Afghan Ethnic Groups: A Brief Investigation" (USA: Civil Military Fusion Centre, August 2011), [https://www.cimicweb.org/Documents/CFC%20AFG%20Social%20Well-being%20Archive/CFC\\_Afg\\_Monthly\\_Ethnic\\_Groups\\_Aug2011%20v1.pdf](https://www.cimicweb.org/Documents/CFC%20AFG%20Social%20Well-being%20Archive/CFC_Afg_Monthly_Ethnic_Groups_Aug2011%20v1.pdf). Accessed on December 30, 2012.

27. Livingstone and Hanlon, n. 3.

resistance groups, some even with the support of Iran.<sup>28</sup> However, at present, they have minimal representation in public institutions. The Uzbeks and Turkmen (9 percent and 3 percent respectively)<sup>29</sup> live predominantly in the northern provinces of Afghanistan. Most Uzbeks came after the Russian revolution in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The Uzbeks are Turkic-speaking but are also related to the Iranians ethnically. Other groups include the Aimaq (4 percent), Baluch (2 percent) and the Nuristanis as non-Pashtun tribes.<sup>30</sup>

Therefore, history and geography have been major factors in delineating these various ethnic groups from each other and further divided their objectives and their relations with the rest of the world. The first ruler of Afghanistan, Ahmad Shah Durrani, from the *khan khel* of the Popalzai tribe, a smaller tribe, ordered the Barakzai to split into two, creating a new Durrani tribe, the Achakzai.<sup>31</sup> While intending to prevent the Barakzai from displacing his heirs, Ahmad Shah Durrani's Popalzai lost the monarchy to them. During the 1880s, the Barakzai King, Abdur al-Rahman, or the "Iron Amir," ordered mass internal migrations of Pashtuns that scattered sub-tribes from their own tribes and dispersed tribesmen with little military and political power for support. He also destabilised the tribes significantly and placed them in locations where they began to force out traditional owners of lands which included the minority ethnic groups, culminating in a period of ethnic cleansing that left resentment towards the Pashtuns among the displaced, animosity which is prevalent even today.<sup>32</sup> These migrating Pashtuns, however, claimed these new lands that became a part of the inheritance cycle and significantly demarcated the territorial regions of the Pashtuns.

---

28. "Afghanistan: The Problem of Pashtun Alienation" (Kabul: International Crisis Group, 2003), n.62, <http://merln.ndu.edu/archive/icg/afghanistanpashtunalienation.pdf>. Accessed on November, 30, 2012.

29. Livingstone and Hanlon, n. 3.

30. Ibid.

31. Rasul Bakhsh Rais, "Conflict in Afghanistan: Ethnicity, Religion and Neighbours" *Ethnic Studies Report*, vol.17, no.1,1999, pp.1-11, [http://ices.lk/publications/esr/articles\\_jan99/Afghanistan-%20Rais,ESR,Jan%201999.pdf](http://ices.lk/publications/esr/articles_jan99/Afghanistan-%20Rais,ESR,Jan%201999.pdf). Accessed on November 28, 2012.

32. Abubakar Siddique, "Afghanistan's Ethnic Divides" (Spain: CIDOB Policy Research, 2012), [www.observatori.org/paises/pais\\_87/.../ABUBAKAR\\_SIDDIQUE.pdf](http://www.observatori.org/paises/pais_87/.../ABUBAKAR_SIDDIQUE.pdf). Accessed on November 28, 2012.

**ETHNIC POLITICS IN AFGHANISTAN**

The idea of Pashtun nationalism peaked during the period of Ahmad Shah Durrani, who consolidated Pashtun areas into a confederation to form Afghanistan in 1747.<sup>33</sup> The areas were recognised as “Pakhtunkhwa”, which stretched from northeastern Iran, through Central Asia to eastern Punjab. However the prosperous Durrani Kingdom fell due to weak domestic structures, sibling rivalry and polygamy within the royal family. Afghanistan was then taken over by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and after the decline of his Sikh Empire, Afghanistan went into the hands of the British who used the region for the “Great Game” with Russia and put forward the Durand Line between Afghanistan and British India, which confirmed an everlasting political separation in the region. Such a move undermined the Pashtun concept of nationalism by separating the Pashtuns and downplaying the achievement of a state of Pashtunistan.

During the simultaneous wars that occurred inside Afghanistan, several tribes were dispersed and displaced in and around Afghanistan, including Pakistan, and thereby led to varying demographics in different regions over the years. Pashtuns constitute 40-45 percent of the total population in Afghanistan which accounts to around 12.5 million.<sup>34</sup> In Pakistan, they are known as Pathans or Pakhtuns and constitute around 29 million<sup>35</sup> in the population, mainly residing in FATA and the NWFP.

Though they share a common ethnic origin, there was, historically, a clear difference apparent in the political ideologies of the Pashtuns on either side of the border, mainly the Durrani tribes of Afghanistan and the Pakhtuns in British India. During this period, the referendum issued to the Pashtuns of the NWFP included only the choice of joining India or Pakistan and not an option of independence and, therefore, during the meeting at Bannu to decide the fate of the NWFP, a section of Pashtuns under the leadership of Pashtun nationalists such as Abdul Gaffar Khan and his party, the Khudai Khitmagar, announced a boycott of the referendum. Ironically, however, being

---

33. Ibid.

34. “Pashtun People”, [http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Pashtun\\_people](http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Pashtun_people). Accessed on November 30, 2012

35. Ibid.

caught between the choice of religion and ethnicity, the Pashtuns of the NWFP, through the convened *loya jirga* in 1947, including in the tribal areas, decided to vote in favour of Pakistan.<sup>36</sup>

The movement for the state of Pashtunistan was kept alive even after the formation of Pakistan, which, however, saw no success. In return, the Afghan Pashtuns supported self-determination for the Pakistani Pashtuns. Also, the Soviets, during the Cold War supported the Pashtunistan policy in order to gain a large support base in the region. With the Communist coup in 1978, the Pashtuns and non-Pashtuns in the region drew on Islam as an ideology to drive out the Soviets from the region, including Pashtun Mujahideen groups that were formed with the funding of the Americans. Using this opportunity, Pakistan tried to subjugate the Pashtun claim for an independent land and territory, by supporting the Mujahideen groups such as Gulbuddin Hekmatyar's Hezb-i-Islami, and promoting radical Islam as a counter to Pashtun nationalism.<sup>37</sup> The Afghan War of the 1980s also brought in an imbalance between the non-Pashtuns and Pashtun supremacy that was tilted in favour of the former, who started to play an important role in driving the Soviets out, unlike in other events in the history of Afghanistan<sup>38</sup>, including the Jamiat-e-Islami Afghanistan headed by Burhanuddin Rabbani, and also Ahmad Shah Massoud.

However, post 2001, Pashtun nationalism peaked in areas of the NWFP where the popularity of the name Khyber Pakhtunkhwa increased considerably and was, in turn, supported by the Afghan Pashtuns bordering the region. The US forces also put forward a government which was Pashtun dominated, creating differences between the other ethnic groups, with larger Pashtun representation in the *jirga*, the Afghan security forces and economic sectors. The Durand Line continues as an issue of contention, which, however, does not prevent the Pashtuns living on either side of the boundary from interacting freely.

---

36. Rizwan Hussain, *Pakistan and the Emergence of Islamic Militancy in Afghanistan* (NY: Ashgate Publishing, 2005).

37. Amin Saikal, "Afghanistan and Pakistan: The Question of Pashtun Nationalism?" *Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs*, vol. 30, no. 1, 2010, pp. 5-17, [http://content.ebscohost.com/pdf23\\_24/pdf/2010/LMM/.../50319359.pdf](http://content.ebscohost.com/pdf23_24/pdf/2010/LMM/.../50319359.pdf). Accessed on December 1, 2012.

38. David Isby, *Afghanistan: Graveyard of Empires: A New History of the Borderland* (NY: Pegasus Publishers, 2010).

## CONCLUSION

A country like Afghanistan is ethnically homogenous; and the various population groups are very difficult to site geographically and thereby need an ethnocentric tolerance and homogeneity in the form of ethno-federalism in governance.<sup>39</sup> Also, conflicts in Afghanistan revolve around contentions that are partly ethnic between the Pashtuns in the south and the Tajiks and Uzbeks in the north; partly rural vs. urban within the Pashtuns; and partly sectarian.<sup>40</sup> The prospects of peace in the region, therefore, continue to be entangled in the ethnic feuds that are fuelled by the regional powers and neighbouring countries, and which require a complete reassessment of policies and strategies that embody the various aspects of Pashtun nationalism in the country and the rise of minor ethnic groups.

Although the political players in Afghanistan do not entirely emphasise on ethnicity in political representation, the Bonn Conference of 2001 on Afghanistan agreed to the civil reconstruction of an ethnic environment, and thereby projects the importance of ethnicity in the politics of Afghanistan.<sup>41</sup> Most importantly, the 2014 Presidential elections will eventually focus on the ethnic composition of the government and thereby require an understanding of ethnicity in the country by the major players. The elections aim to see a further rise of Pashtun nationalism with Muhammad Umar Daudzai, former member of the Hizb-e-Islami militia, and Hanif Atmar, part of the Communist era intelligence agency, taking advantage of their elite southern Pashtun background, while other ethnic players may include Ahmad Zia Masood, brother of Ahmad Shah Masood and Uzbek warlord, Abdul Rashid Dostum. Also, the Hazaras have been emerging as one of the most educated communities in the country and, therefore, may constitute substantial political participation in

---

39. Conrad Schetter, *Ethnicity and Political Reconstruction* (Germany: CDS Publishing, 2003), [www.ag-afghanistan.de/arg/arp/schetter.pdf](http://www.ag-afghanistan.de/arg/arp/schetter.pdf). Accessed on December 1, 2012.

40. Bulent Aras and Sule Toktas, "Afghanistan' Security: Political Process, State Building and Narcotics", *Middle East Policy*, vol.15, no.2, 2008, pp. 39-52, [http://www.academia.edu/761692/Afghanistans\\_Security\\_Political\\_Process\\_State-Building\\_and\\_Narcotics](http://www.academia.edu/761692/Afghanistans_Security_Political_Process_State-Building_and_Narcotics). Accessed on November 29, 2012.

41. Hussain, n. 36.

the future.<sup>42</sup>

Most importantly, for a regional power like India, which is a major strategic partner of Afghanistan and contributes economically, politically and socially to its development, understanding the ethnic dimensions of Afghanistan becomes necessary to chart out its foreign policies in the region. Despite having a favourable response in the Pashtun dominated Karzai government, India still needs to strengthen support to, and from, minority ethnic groups such as the Hazaras and Tajiks in other parts of the country. India needs to understand and maintain the ethnic sensitivity in the region and also contribute to the overall development of the people of Afghanistan, irrespective of their ethnicities.

---

42. Praveen Swami, "Afghan Politicians Struggle to Script 2014 Transition", *The Hindu*, December 3, 2012, <http://www.thehindu.com/news/national/afghan-politicians-struggle-to-script-2014-transition/article4156992.ece?homepage=true>. Accessed on December 3, 2012.



# THE IMPASSE IN IRAN

**KANICA RAKHRA**

The Islamic Republic of Iran has been in the news for a long time regarding the big question of whether it will become a nuclear state or not. The idea of a nuclear Iran has given sleepless nights to not only its neighbouring countries, but also to those who feel that Iran might end up proliferating and helping the non-state actors in different regions gain access to nuclear material. Many states have tried to be negotiators when it comes to the Iranian need for uranium enrichment, whether it was Japan or the European Union (mostly EU3 and P5+1). Turkey has had some level of success, but that too has not translated into any substantial changes between the United States and Iran.

The sanctions that have been levied on the state of Iran by the world community have completely isolated them. The banks are slowly running dry and the sufferers, as always, are the people, who are fighting for survival. The value of the rial has gone down and it does not look like it will get better in the coming months as the complete isolation from the world community with respect to Iran's oil production has not only left Iran in the lurch, but is also creating problems in the day-to-day existence of millions of Iranians.

Dr. Kenneth Waltz, in his famed *Foreign Affairs* articles, lays out the positives of having a nuclear armed Iran and how such an event

---

Kanica Rakhra is a Research Associate at the Centre for the Air Power Studies, New Delhi.

would be in the interest of almost every party concerned. The fear of the Israelis with regards to Iran's nuclear growth would have to be curbed by an agreement between Israel and Iran. He highlights the fears and insecurities of the Iranians and justifies their answers, giving both sides of the argument.

Iran's nuclear ambitions, though high and full of fervour, are not clear even to the Iranian leadership itself. Although the Iranian leadership has categorically stated that it wants to develop its nuclear facilities and enrich uranium as the country has energy needs that it wants to fulfill via sources other than oil, the argument is feeble and does not hold ground. This is because Israel was, and still is, considered to be a threat for the countries in West Asia.

The 'how-to-deal-with-Iran' question has left statesmen from around the world baffled as it is a known fact that if a nation decides that it wants to acquire nuclear weapons, it does so at all costs. A case in point is North Korea. The North Korean regime survived the toughest sanctions and even though it is now treated with caution, it is heard.

This article looks at the reasons why Iran aims for the same goal as North Korea, albeit secretly and whether the United States and its allies can do anything apart from attacking Iran to stop it from becoming a nuclear state, and, most importantly, what implications such events would have on India's relations with the United States and Iran individually.

#### **UNITED STATES AND ALLIES**

The United States and its Allies, on their part, also have a number of fears and insecurities that need to be addressed. The biggest fear is about the Israelis. They have been at the forefront, opposing Iran's nuclear programme in every aspect. They have such a heightened sense of insecurity regarding Iran's nuclear programme that they are not even ready to accept Iran's uranium enrichment for peaceful purposes. The Israelis also realise that they are the most insecure of all the Allies as they are the closest to Iran and, thus, the threat perception is also high. As a result, they have been pursuing the diplomatic angle very seriously.

The United States is fearful of the repercussions in the Middle Eastern region. Once Iran becomes a nuclear state, the Sunni states that surround it might feel insecure and the Shia-Sunni divide would flare up in the region. As the United States does not want a nuclear arms race to begin in the region, it is trying to exhaust all possible options before it is forced to take a drastic step.

The European Union is not in favour of Iran's nuclear programme as it fears that the militant groups that are supported by the Iranian regime would sooner rather than later get their hands on classified information. Proliferation of nuclear material or data into the hands of the non-state actors is not an option whose consequences the world, in particular, the US and its Allies, would want to deal with.

Thus, the fear on the part of the Allies is not completely misplaced. They have themselves been victims of these non-state actors and are only thinking of the harm that would be caused if nuclear material or nuclear knowledge were to be proliferated to the wrong hands. Although the main issue for the Allies as well as for the United States is the growing power of Iran as a nation and their coming to terms with it, it looks like the ride will not be a smooth one. It has been proved time and again in history that whenever a new power tries to emerge or tries to reach the heights of a prior time period, it disturbs the equation of the existing system. The powers of the time, for example, the United States, and Israel in West Asia are bound to react, and try and stop the new power from growing.

But Iran's scars seem to be too deep and ingrained to go away with the few carrots that are being offered by the Allies. The next section explains Iran's scars, and how the Iranians changed track from not wanting a nuclear weapon to wanting to become a nuclear state.

### **IRAN'S POSITION**

In order to understand the reason behind a state taking a particular stand or position, it is important to look at the history of the state and the corresponding effects that specific historical events had on the psyche of the nation as a whole. Although it is said that public memory is short, certain historical events tend to stay within the narrative of the people of the region and become a part of their sub-conscious

in such a way that more than the event, the effects, and after-effects are remembered. Iran too, has had its share of historical events that have influenced the thought processes of the people, heightened their insecurities, and developed a sense of mistrust against certain groups and communities.

Oppositional nationalists see their nation as both naturally at odds with an external enemy and as naturally its equal, if not its superior. Such a conception tends to generate the emotions of fear and pride – an explosive psychological cocktail. Driven by fear and pride, oppositional nationalists develop a desire for nuclear weapons that goes beyond calculation, to self-expression. Thus, in spite of the tremendous complexity of the nuclear choice, leaders who decide for the bomb tend not to go back on it. For them, unlike the bulk of their peers, the choice for a nuclear weapon is neither a close call nor a possible last resort but an absolute necessity (Hymans, 2006). According to Fariborz Mokhtari (2005), for the Iranians, national psychology defines national security. Their thought process is very much coloured by their historical experiences as these have had a major impact on the psyche of the people. When the historical experiences of a state are positive, or something that the people take pride in, then the people of the state start identifying themselves with those historical experiences. They become a source of pride, and inspiration. But this leads to the people of the state always wanting to live in their past glory and, thus, viewing the present system with scepticism. In order to understand the psyche of the Iranian policy-makers, one must look at the events that unfolded after the revolution that made the decision-making body change its decision of being staunch supporters of the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) to being pro- nuclear weapons.

One of the biggest factors that led to the change is Iran's decision to go pro-nuclear was the Iran-Iraq War. The war that was thrust on the Iranians for a period of eight years had a deep psychological impact on the nation. The Iraqis were covertly supported by the United States and, thus, help for Iran was completely denied. The nation showed grit and strength and came out of the war defeating the enemy but realising that the international community that had turned its back on Iran today could do the same again tomorrow.

Ali-Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, Iran's powerful former President, said in the aftermath of Iran's war with Iraq, "The war taught us that international laws are only scraps of paper."

The other factor that helped change Iran's perception was its geography. Surrounded by Sunni states, and being the only Shia state, its neighbourhood was, and still is, not a very friendly one. Added to that is the constant threat from a nuclear Israel that has an attack first policy.

The most important factor for Iran would be the idea of being a stooge of the US. Iran, during the reign of the Shah had very close ties with the US. These ties were strengthened when the US helped Iran in tapping nuclear energy and developed a number of collaborative projects wherein Iranian scientists were trained in US universities. But the price for these carrots was giving up on Iranian independence. The Shah was ready to do so, but this was not acceptable to the Iranian people who not only overthrew the Shah but also gave up their relations with the United States in order to be an independent Persian nation.

Thus, the existential threats in the form of Iraq and America have been the most important aspects of their national security. The horrors of the Gulf War have made the Iranians very guarded about their borders. On the other hand, the idea of the US again being in control of Iran, with the Shah as a puppet, also does not bode well with their idea of Iran as a nation.

### **THE STAND-OFF**

Culture is often a synonym for continuity in a nation-state's foreign policy, namely policies that in some sense are particularistic and that persist. It offers insights into the types of options are likely to be favoured. It could be that well-known and well-practised options, preferably tied to a nation's heroic history, will be preferred over less well known and less familiar options or options with traumatic track records even if an objective cost-benefit analysis of the two options would suggest otherwise( Hudson, Sampson, 1999).

The difference between Iran and the United States is one of perception. While the US considers it a part of its foreign policy to intervene and play the role of the big brother, Iran feels it is

being belittled and the Iranian pride is hurt in the process. There is a direct co-relation between the nuclear status of Iran and the sense of pride its people have in being a part of the state of Iran. This conception of pride stems from the rich historical past and the glory of the time when Persia was the centre of not only the Islamic civilisation, but also the centre of all the trade routes connecting Central Asia to South Asia and South Asia to Europe. Like all civilisations, the Iranians too want to reach that peak again. The Shah's famous line "Neither East, Nor West" stems from this discourse. This line has now been followed by a new motto which is more inclusive: "Both North and South".

The United States and Iran had a very good and profitable relationship during the time of the Shah, but this was considered to be on the lines of boot-licking by the Iranian people, who became anti-Shah because of his pro-US policies, among his many other policies. But with the onset of the Iranian revolution, and Khomeini's anti-US speeches, the US was branded as a form of Satan and every policy of the US was scrutinised and found fault with. Statements made by the US leadership such as President Bush's denunciation of Iran as a member of the "axis of evil" and more recent statements by Administration officials such as Undersecretary of State John Bolton, who called on Tehran to "draw the appropriate lesson from Iraq," only reaffirmed the Islamic Republic's stance of insisting that the only way to negate the American challenge is through the possession of nuclear weapons (Takeyh, 2003).

What the US and its Allies want and what Iran wants are two very different things. While the US and its Allies want Iran to give up its nuclear weapons programme, civilian as well as military, Iran wants to be known as a nuclear state, as that would put Iran in a higher league among the elites of the world. This place and position, according to the Iranians, is their natural place as they were once the centre of civilisations, of trade. Thus, for the Iranians, it is most important that they be taken as seriously as the United States. The present world order, according to them, does not do them justice and their quest for a becoming a nuclear power is to remove this supposed injustice and change equations so that they are favourable to Iran and its people.

## **INDIA'S DILEMMA**

India has always had very strong ties with Iran which are not just political, but deeply cultural. They go back to hundreds of years and are bonded in history and trade. On the other hand, India's relations with the United States have never been better. After the signing of the Indo-US nuclear deal, the relations have only grown, not just in trade, but also in cultural terms and the national festivals of both countries are given importance by both.

India opposed the sanctions that were imposed on Iran as it was aware that the ruling elites are never the ones that suffer when sanctions are imposed – it is the working class that gets directly affected by a decision that the ruling class has taken. Although India opposed the sanctions, it also vehemently opposed Iran's nuclear programme as it was aware of the indirect ties between the ruling elites and some of the militant groups in the region such as the Hezbollah.

India is in a position where it is close to both Iran and the United States. This position has not been used by India to help both the states resolve their differences. India, in its desire for the gas pipeline, did not discourage Iran from pursuing its goal, and wanting a good nuclear deal with the United States, did not encourage Iran either. It should have taken a stand early on and helped at the negotiating table. India would have been able to help the most as it comes from a similar cultural understanding as that of Iran and its trajectory to becoming a nuclear state had many similarities with the Iranian programme. But it chose to stay away from the conflict and decided to let the two states themselves decide their paths.

## **CONCLUSION**

In an address to the Council of Foreign Relations, Mohamed El-Baradei pointed out, "In my view Iran's nuclear program is a means to an end: it wants to be recognised as a regional power, they believe that the nuclear know-how brings prestige, brings power, and they would like to see the US engaging them."

This statement signifies the need of the Iranians to pursue a nuclear programme and also gives insights to the other party as to why an independent nuclear programme is so important to them.

Thus, it seems unlikely that negotiations can bring about positive results unless the needs of the Iranians are fulfilled and fulfilling Iranian needs would most definitely lead to a clash, as Israel would not just sit back and observe the developments in its neighbourhood and not react.

The last round of negotiations did not give any results because of the reasons listed above. No new round of negotiations between the two parties could bring about any change as the negotiations are not focussing on giving Iran its due, which is what it is aiming for. For Iran, face saving is much more important than being in actual possession of a nuclear weapon. There is a need to understand each other's vantage points, which does not seem to be happening. News reports suggest that the US Presidential elections have brought relief to the Iranian government as President Obama will not directly attack the state as they felt Romney may have.

Both sides have built on their rhetoric with their respective publics, but during negotiations, one cannot expect to reach anywhere if only rhetoric is to be believed. As much as the United States would have to reconcile to the fact that the Iranian nuclear programme is a reality and the US is not the sole beneficiary of the oil being produced from the said state, Iran too, would have to realise that the dangers of proliferation are high and that the balance of power in the Middle East would be shaken and would result in a domino effect with regards to developing a nuclear programme.

Thus, the hope that this impasse in Iran would end soon is misplaced. At best, things would remain static and negotiations after negotiations would be conducted by both sides but without any results. This would lead to complete isolation of Iran as a state, considering that the sanctions would still be in place. At worst, the United States would end up attacking Iran for not toeing the line and the US naval ships that until recently were there only to scare and put pressure on the Iranians, would start a full-fledged attack on Iran. An example of which was seen recently when a US naval ship fired at a pleasure boat in the Persian Gulf.

# INDIA-CHINA RELATIONS: THE WAY FORWARD THROUGH RENEWABLE ENERGY DIPLOMACY

**DHANASREE JAYARAM**

Is the 21<sup>st</sup> century an Asian century? The answer to this question would be both yes and no. The Asian continent increasingly is being regarded as the centre of geo-physical, geo-political, and geo-economic developments. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the Four Asian Tigers, namely Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan, had managed to match up with the economic standards of the Western economies, with Japan already established as an industrialised economy after World War II. At the turn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the global attention shifted to two countries – China and India – as they began to assert themselves in more than one arena. However, the way forward is not a cakewalk for both countries. Two factors that could derail the progress of these two countries in the 21<sup>st</sup> century are energy security and environmental security. First, one has to understand that these two are closely inter-linked. Second, they are also intricately connected to any country's foreign and strategic policies. Third, they would also determine the overall geo-political scenario in the 21<sup>st</sup> century as to which countries would call the shots as far as global decision-making is concerned.

---

**Dhanasree Jayaram** is a Research Associate at the Centre for the Air Power Studies, New Delhi.

This paper would study the challenges that China and India face in the wake of growing energy requirements, rising population and increasing signs of environmental change. With the pressure being built on both countries to diversify their energy mix due to their increasing Greenhouse Gas (GHG) emissions, the paper would delve briefly into the renewable energy policies of the two countries, their merits and demerits. In the end, the paper would analyse the possibility of cooperation as well as conflict between India and China in the fields of energy and environment.

## **CONFLUENCE AMONG ENERGY, ENVIRONMENT AND DIPLOMACY**

### *From Cooperation at the International Level to the Bilateral Level*

In the 21<sup>st</sup> century, three aspects – energy, environment and diplomacy – of a country's position in the international system are intertwined. While the connection between energy and the environment has been established by the use of fossil fuels and their contribution to GHG emissions, both energy and the environment have become tools and drivers of diplomacy. Take, for example, Renewable Energy Technology (RET) that has become a buzzword in the international arena as nation-states try to fix the problem of global warming and climate change. Both India and China are at the forefront of environmental diplomacy in the international fora and are now in the process of gradually integrating themselves into the larger energy network that is environmentally friendly. Before going into the specifics of renewable energy diplomacy, a process by which transfer of renewable energy technologies is possible between the West and the emerging countries, as well as between the emerging countries and the developing/least developed countries, it is important to throw light on the emissions scenario of India and China. World Bank indicators of India's energy production and use reveal that during the time period, 1971-2009, India's fossil fuel energy consumption increased from 37 percent to 70 percent; while the rise in India's alternative and nuclear energy use has been a meagre 1 percent (from 1.7 percent to 2.7 percent).<sup>1</sup> This has resulted in a huge leap in its GHG

1. Data: India, 2010, see for more information, <http://data.worldbank.org/country/india>. Accessed on December 18, 2012.

emissions, especially in the 1990s. India's Minister of Environment and Forests, Jayanthi Natarajan declared in the Parliament in 2011 that India had become the third highest emitter (5.3 percent) pushing Russia (5.1 percent), down to the fourth place behind China (19.5 percent) and the United States (19.2 percent).<sup>2</sup> Yet India's per capita CO<sub>2</sub> (carbon dioxide) emissions are approximately 1.38 tonnes per person, compared to a world average of 4.49 tonnes per person.<sup>3</sup> This is the reason why Prime Minister Manmohan Singh has upheld that India's per-capita GHG emissions would not exceed those of the developed countries even while pursuing pro-development or pro-growth policies.<sup>4</sup> On the other hand, China overtook the US as the largest emitter in 2009 and the International Energy Agency (IEA) data reveals that it emits more than the US and Canada put together (up by 171 percent since 2000), yet it emits under 6 tonnes per person.<sup>5</sup>

From these figures, India and China seem to be in a position in which they clearly need to drastically diversify their sources of energy and incorporate cleaner sources in their energy mix. In this respect, India can cooperate as well as have conflicting interests as the trajectory and the culture of growth patterns that the two countries are following are different, with China far ahead of India in terms of emissions and also being in a good position in the global carbon market. The neo-realists' 'balance of power' theory and the neo-liberals' 'complex interdependence' theory try to explain the international system from two diametrically opposite points of view – the former looks at cooperation from a power-centric perspective (power as the means and security as the end) while the latter looks at cooperation from the perspective of institutionalism (international interdependence). India and China have been acting more or less like

2. "India Third Biggest Greenhouse Gas Emitter: Government," *The Times of India*, August 3, 2011, see [http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-08-03/global-warming/29861707\\_1\\_greenhouse-gas-emitter-emissions](http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-08-03/global-warming/29861707_1_greenhouse-gas-emitter-emissions). Accessed on December 18, 2012.

3. "World Carbon Dioxide Emissions Data by Country: China Speeds Ahead of the Rest," *The Guardian*, January 31, 2011, see <http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/2011/jan/31/world-carbon-dioxide-emissions-country-data-co2>. Accessed on December 18, 2012.

4. Ministry of Environment & Forests, Ministry of Power and Bureau of Energy Efficiency, "India: Addressing Energy Security And Climate Change, October, 2007, pp. 1-2, see for more information, [http://www.moef.nic.in/divisions/ccd/Addressing\\_CC\\_09-10-07.pdf](http://www.moef.nic.in/divisions/ccd/Addressing_CC_09-10-07.pdf). Accessed on December 18, 2012.

5. n.3.

rivals but the potential of cooperation between the two emerging nations is immense, especially in the fields of climate change and energy. From India's point of view, bilateral and multilateral cooperation is one of the best ways forward for India to not only get integrated into the global climate change regime in a more fruitful manner but also supplement its domestic actions. India has signed Memoranda of Understanding (MoU) with several countries on climate change cooperation, including the US and the European Union (EU). India signed a Climate Change Cooperation Accord with China in 2009 by which they not only call upon the developed countries to reduce emissions and provide funds and technology to the developing countries, but also to cooperate between themselves on energy efficiency, renewable energy and forestry.<sup>6</sup> India and China have also cooperated through the forum of BASIC (Brazil, South Africa, India and China) at the Copenhagen (2009), Cancun (2010), Durban (2011) and Doha (2012) Summits. Climate change, therefore, could create a platform for countries such as India and China to set aside their political differences and cooperate for the common good.

Talking about renewable energy, China is a classic example of a country which has taken the lead in the field of RET due to increasing signs of climate change on its land in the form of desertification and floods. Its eastern coast is susceptible to sea-level rise, the northern mainland is prone to desertification, and the southern mountainous region is at the risk of glacial recession. The concept of 'economic civilisation' introduced in 2008 is a key component of President Hu Jintao's vision of scientific temper and outlook on sustainable development and his commitment to creating a harmonious socialist society. In 2011, China's spending on renewable energy (\$52 billion) constituted one-fifth of total global investment in clean energy, ahead of the US (\$51 billion), Germany, Italy and India.<sup>7</sup> India could learn a few valuable lessons from China in this respect. For example, China introduced differential taxation to derive profits from non-CO<sub>2</sub> Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) projects, which, in turn, would be used to create a sustainable development fund

6. "China, India Sign Agreement of Co-op on Climate Change," *People's Daily Online*, October 21, 2009, see <http://english.peopledaily.com.cn/90001/90776/90883/6790138.html>. Accessed on December 20, 2012.

7. Jack Perkowski, "China Leads the World in Renewable Energy Investment," *Forbes*, July 27, 2012, see <http://www.forbes.com/sites/jackperkowski/2012/07/27/china-leads-the-world-in-renewable-energy-investment/>. Accessed on December 20, 2012.

and to promote renewable energy prospects. Since the coming into force of the Renewable Energy Law in 2006, it has also subsidised the investment, transmission and distribution costs of renewable energy-based power projects. The Chinese leadership has set a 15 percent non-fossil energy target for 2020. It is known to have the most aggressive deployment of solar and wind energy. China has emerged as the world's largest manufacturer of wind turbines and solar panels.<sup>8</sup>

In India's case, as on August 31, 2012, India's total installed renewable energy capacity stood at 26 GW. The country has marked a jump in the share of renewable energy in its energy mix from 7.8 percent in 2008 to 12.1 percent in 2012. In 2011, the country's investment in renewable energy reached \$10.2 billion.<sup>9</sup> The total projected capacity by the end of 2022 in wind power is 38,500 MW and solar power is 20,000 MW.<sup>10</sup> Additionally, Gujarat could host Asia's first commercial-scale tidal power station by 2013. The 50 MW tidal farm is expected to cost \$150 million. It could be further expanded to deliver 200 MW.<sup>11</sup> Though India has set foot on the path to increasing the share of renewable energy in its economy, it has a long way to go primarily due to the lack of infrastructure and public-private partnerships. The industry is now undergoing change with the entry of private parties such as Essar, Indiabulls, Reliance, Tata Power, Suryachakra and Euro Group in the solar energy domain and Suzlon, GE Energy Financial Services and Greenco Group Plc in wind energy. In China, the government-industry nexus is so strong that the line between public and private is very thin and, therefore, a majority of the projects are implemented in cohesion, which, in turn, ensures that the lack of finances and infrastructure does not hinder the process.

8. Keith Bradsher, "China Leading Global Race to Make Clean Energy," *The New York Times*, January 30, 2010, see [http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/31/business/energy-environment/31renew.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2010/01/31/business/energy-environment/31renew.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0). Accessed on December 20, 2012.
9. "E&Y Ranks India 4<sup>th</sup> on Renewable Energy Market Potential," *Business Line*, November 7, 2012, see <http://www.thehindubusinessline.com/industry-and-economy/ey-ranks-india-4th-on-renewable-energy-market-potential/article4074300.ece>. Accessed on December 20, 2012.
10. "Renewable Energy in India: Progress, Vision and Strategy," Ministry of New and Renewable Energy, Government of India, pp. 8 and 14, see <http://www.mnre.gov.in/pdf/mnre-paper-direc2010-25102010.pdf>. Accessed on December 15, 2012.
11. Richard Black, "India Plans Asian Tidal Power First," *BBC*, January 18, 2011, see <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/science-environment-12215065>. Accessed on December 18, 2012.

### *Where Cooperation has its Limits*

On the flipside, the earlier-mentioned buoyant Chinese figures have also been counteracted by a number of other environmental fallouts of the renewable energy investment drive. For example, a solar panel factory had to be shut down in 2011 after protestors demonstrated against the plant for polluting a nearby river in the eastern Chinese province of Zhejiang.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, the Three Gorges Dam has been held responsible for the “risk of geological disaster” as it is linked to “soil erosion, quakes, drought and social upheaval” as the State Cabinet itself has admitted.<sup>13</sup> The drying of the major rivers of any country defeats the purpose of setting up of hydroelectric projects on them as they would not only have disastrous environmental consequences but also lead to shortage in the production of electricity.

One of the characteristics of China’s ‘peaceful rise’ has been its endeavour to control the environment. A Chinese hydraulics engineer, Professor Liu Zihui, while speaking about the largest hydraulics project in the history of humanity, a US\$63 billion canal that would bring water from the south of China to the increasingly desertifying north China, commented, “I don’t feel we are conquering nature. We think nature itself isn’t fair. God isn’t fair. What is that? He’s given Southern China so much water but given the North so little. It’s good land – nice flat land – up there. But it’s got so little water. So we say, as God isn’t fair, we are trying to balance out God’s unfairness.”<sup>14</sup> Here is a classic example of a country that has been upholding the bottom-up approach at the international level but at the domestic level, has centralised the entire environmental governance system like any other aspect of the Chinese system, thereby not losing sight of the long-term interests of the country. India, on the other hand, has been following a more or less bottom-up approach at both international and domestic levels. India should not follow

---

12. Sharon LaFraniere, “Chinese Protestors Accuse Solar Panel Plant of Pollution,” *New York Times*, September 18, 2011, see <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/09/19/world/asia/chinese-protesters-accuse-solar-panel-plant-of-pollution.html>. Accessed on December 18, 2012.

130 Jonathan Watts, “China Warns of ‘Urgent Problems’ Facing Three Gorges Dam,” *The Guardian*, May 20, 2011, see <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/may/20/three-gorges-dam-china-warning>. Accessed on December 18, 2012.

14. Cleo Paskal, *Global Warring: How Environmental, Economic and Political Crises will Redraw the World Map* (Toronto, Ontario: Key Porter Books Limited, 2010), p. 152.

China's example by trying to control the environment; the need of the hour is to manage the environment at the micro level as well. Even rain water harvesting schemes run by individual houses could be solutions rather than large-scale projects that could only solve the problem temporarily and prove to be disasters in the making in the future. The North-South Canal is one of the treasured projects of China that it claims will solve the water crisis that many parts of the country face and address the water-related problems of climate change such as flooding in the south due to glacial melting. India is also thinking on similar lines to interlink all the rivers of the country to maintain water security. However, such large-scale projects could cause, or be severely affected by, environmental change which could only exacerbate the water security situation. India is said to be a storehouse of a number of traditional technologies and methodologies which could be promoted elsewhere in the world.

Geo-politically, ties between China and India have been tense. Tensions along the border have now extended to the Indian Ocean over China's growing relations with the countries in the region and even to the South China Sea over India's ambitions to explore oil and gas in the region. In such a situation, technology cooperation between the two countries seems unlikely, especially since the two are also competing in a 'green game' in the developing world even though they have had similar postures at the negotiations. This is also expected to change soon as China assumes the role of a technology vendor in the global carbon market and it would naturally not like India to emerge as a competitor. This is one of the reasons why after years of negotiating from the same side of the table on the issue of Intellectual Property Rights (IPR) with regard to green technology with India, China shifted its position smoothly to the side of the West at the Durban Summit in 2011. India's demand to declare green/climate-friendly technologies as public goods so that they could be made available to the developing and least developed countries, have been shot down by the West time and again. Moreover, the principle of 'common but differentiated responsibility', which has been championed by countries such as India and China since the beginning of the climate change negotiations, will also be abandoned come 2020, when the new international treaty is expected to come

into force. Siding with China could actually alienate India further among the international community as China's aggregate and per capita emissions are far more than India's and the former's per capita emissions could match those of the European Union by 2020-25 which would naturally put the onus on China to adopt internationally legally binding emissions targets. It is a different question altogether if China would ever subject itself to any kind of international scrutiny as its standing in the international security/governance architecture gets increasingly stronger in the coming years, as is being predicted by strategic thinkers across the globe.

Sino-Indian cooperation in RET can be boosted only through private players as the Government of India would be highly reluctant to engage with a country, which has menacing regional as well as global aspirations; added to that is the historical baggage of war and trust deficit. According to Shyam Saran, the West is still ahead of China in terms of cutting edge technology. Also, there is greater familiarity between the Indian entrepreneurs and the Western ones. Bilateral dealings are different from multilateral dealings. At the end of the day India has to build its own capacity.<sup>15</sup> Others would suggest that India should look forward to cooperating with every country, including China, despite political hostility, as South-South cooperation in RET is the key to the future discourse on climate change and sustainable development. Niu Qingbao, Consul General of China in Mumbai has said that the level of cooperation between India and China is very low currently even though the potential exists and that there are no obstructions whatsoever from China's side.<sup>16</sup>

Interestingly, environmental diplomacy has become an integral part of the struggle for supremacy, so much so, that a country's expertise in the environment and climate in various sectors could be a potential soft power tool just as public diplomacy is. China's entry into the scramble for resources in Africa after the exploitation of the continent for more than two centuries by the Western powers has raised serious concerns in some of the countries even

---

15. Interaction with Shyam Saran, former Prime Minister's Envoy of Climate Change and Former Foreign Secretary, at the Research and Information System for Developing Countries (RIS), on June 15, 2011.

16. Interaction with Niu Qingbao, Consul General of the People's Republic of China, at Manipal University, on October 14, 2011.

though moves are being made by China to address environmental challenges through the Forum for China-Africa Cooperation. The Western powers are now dictating terms to the developing and underdeveloped countries while providing them aid to develop low-carbon infrastructure and technologies. Recently, even a country like New Zealand offered Tonga aid for a solar power plant on the precondition that the plant would be built only by a New Zealand government-owned company which goes against the principles of no tied aid. If there is no competitive bidding, the costs of energy are expected to rise, which the economy of Tonga might not be able to withstand in the long term.<sup>17</sup> Due to such high-handed approach of the West, Tonga has now become a bastion of China, which poses a huge strategic threat to the former. India, on the other hand, has a better international image in terms of environmental footprint abroad. Its knowledge pool in this field is considered to be one of the largest and, thus, it should pursue a more vigorous environmental diplomacy to enhance its global reach. The United Nations Industrial Development Organisation Director General Kandeh K. Yumkella has urged India to export green technologies to Africa and remarked that "India can be one of the global leaders in the energy revolution going forward in the next two decades."<sup>18</sup> Environmental diplomacy, if utilised in an equitable fashion, could give India an edge over other countries, including China. It could also improve relations between countries and lead to international peace and stability.

## CONCLUSION

India and China have civilisational and historical ties that soured during the 1962 War and have not changed much since then although there has been some level of cooperation on some of the issues at the international level. Since 1962, the two nations have witnessed unprecedented crises in their economies and societies, an overwhelming jump in their energy requirements in order to

17. Cleo Paskal, "Why the West is Losing the Pacific to China, the Arab League, and Just about Everyone Else," *Huffington Post*, November 24, 2010, see [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/cleo-paskal/why-the-west-is-losing-th\\_b\\_786668.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/cleo-paskal/why-the-west-is-losing-th_b_786668.html). Accessed on December 18, 2012.

18. Rohit Vaid, "India Should Export Green Technologies to Africa: UNIDO Chief," *India Africa Connect*, February 26, 2012, see <http://www.indiaafricaconnect.in/index.php?param=news/3986/agriculture-energy/104>. Accessed on December 20, 2012.

maintain their staggering economic growth rates and changes in the environment that could take a toll on the same success stories in the future. The requirements are mounting while resources are not plentiful. In this analysis, China seems to be in a better position than India with its long-term strategic moves to forge strong interdependent bonds with countries around the world. At the same time, India is yet to use some of its inherent strengths to enhance its national interests which include energy and environmental security. "India has a lot to offer. In spite of all odds, and against much opposition, it is a more or less stable (and the less is not the fault of 'average' India), secular (but moderate, and with soul), people-oriented, growing economy where people still believe in democracy. Each of those components is rare, valuable, and in global short supply."<sup>19</sup> At the same time, it is quite obvious that there is a discernible difference between having potential and utilising or harnessing it. The 21<sup>st</sup> century could be called an Asian century although the two great Asian powers are bound to compete even though there are some areas of cooperation, as described in the paper. In an extremely interconnected world, peace and stability can be achieved only if 'complex interdependence' becomes an undisputable rule in international relations. A handful of signs of cooperation should not be misconstrued as a bright future for the same as China's superpower aspirations become more and more fervent and India's strategy in securing its own interests takes good shape.

---

19. E-mail correspondence with Cleo Paskal, Associate Fellow, Chatham House, dated October 10, 2011.

# UPHEAVALS IN THE ARAB WORLD: IMPLICATIONS FOR INDIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

LUNTHUIYANG RIAMEI

The uprisings in the Arab world have irrevocably transformed the West Asian politics. Since the beginning of the modern state system, the potent myth of the Arab nations and the common public space pervaded by the idea of 'Arabism' has had complex effects. The Arab Spring has exposed a great variety of contradictions in the countries, which have been accumulated through the past century or more since the collapse of the Ottoman Empire. But, one needs to question, why at this particular moment? The answer is not far to locate. The socio-economic and political grievances in the Arab world were channelled into forceful and purposeful collective action. These developments have provided an opportunity for New Delhi to reshape its West Asia policy.

The wave of social and political upheavals stems from multiple causes and multiple aims. While the upheavals in Tunisia and Egypt had revolutionary characteristics, those in Bahrain and Libya have been different, rooted in religious or tribal conflicts. In Yemen, the upheaval stems from a variety of factors such as tribal conflict, political separatism and the intervention of Al Qaeda<sup>1</sup> affiliates. Syria

**Lunthuiyang Riamei** is a Research Associate at the Centre for the Air Power Studies, New Delhi.

1. A global militant Islamist organisation founded by Osama bin Laden, with its origins being traceable to the Cold War period. It operates as a network comprising both a multinational and stateless army which calls for global *jihād*, based on strict interpretation of *Sharia* law.

is a complicated mix of social, political, religious and ethnic conflicts, which have extended beyond its borders. But, the overall political-economic situation can be seen as a “drive to maturity”<sup>2</sup> in the regions. For decades, the Arabs’ self-esteem had been dominated by the totalitarian regimes. Thus, the cravings for democracy motivated the uprisings. The people’s revolution was assisted in a new and profound ways by Information and Communication Technology (ICT).

### **ANALYSIS OF THE ARAB SPRING**

The Arab uprisings of 2011 comprised a series of diverse albeit interconnected events. In Tunisia and Egypt, mass civil insurrections led to the overthrow of authoritarian regimes. In both countries, post-revolution politics has been dominated by Islamist groups. The electoral success of Egypt’s Muslim Brotherhood and Salafists has set a pattern that will not be easy to break.<sup>3</sup> In Bahrain, the uprising was severely suppressed. Despite the crackdown, the Shias’ resentment has continued to simmer, sporadically erupting in anti-government protests.<sup>4</sup> In Libya, the regime was toppled following a civil war and outside military intervention. In Syria, the bloody confrontation between the regime of President Bashar-al Assad and significant sections of society is continuing.<sup>5</sup> In Yemen, the political crisis is simmering; more violent conflicts and a populist uprising followed in the wake of a humanitarian emergency.<sup>6</sup> Other parts of West Asia have experienced less turbulence, while in Jordan and Morocco,

2. W. W. Rostow has developed five stages of growth wherein developments in the society take place. “Drive to maturity” is one of the stages when a country has to decide whether the industrial power and technology generated is used for the welfare of its people or to gain supremacy over others. For details, see W.W. Rostow, *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non- Communist Manifesto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), pp. 4-16.
3. Gerald Butt, “Do Arabs Need a New Awakening to Win True Democracy”, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-19272199>. Accessed on November 20, 2012.
4. For details, see “Bahrain Profile”, October 30, 2012, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14540571>. Accessed on November 20, 2012.
5. “Syria: Hundreds of Thousands Join Anti-Assad Protest”, July 1, 2011, URL: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-13988701>. Accessed on November 20, 2012.
6. Sudaran Raghavan, “In Yemen’s Political Crisis, Children Pay the Highest Price”, January 9, 2012, [http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle\\_east/yemens-children-pay-the-highest-price-in-crisis/2012/01/05/gIQAx9CkP\\_story.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/yemens-children-pay-the-highest-price-in-crisis/2012/01/05/gIQAx9CkP_story.html). Accessed on November 20, 2012. Also see, “Yemen Crisis” <http://www.oxfam.org/en/emergencies/yemen-crisis>. Accessed on November 20, 2012.

the monarchs offered limited reforms to preempt a greater political challenge. Focussing on the reasons for the mechanisms of popular mobilisation is not enough; the manner of regime response is equally important in explaining outcomes.<sup>7</sup> This response was determined by the relationship in each case between the regime and state institutions, including the army and security services; and by the ability of the regime to retain the support of significant societal allies.

Explosive socio-economic problems and widespread and deepening political grievances constituted a common causal threat behind all the uprisings.<sup>8</sup> Poverty in absolute terms does not go far by way of explanation but relative deprivation and a clash between expectations and reality played a role. The longstanding structural problems afflicting the Arab world came to the forefront prior to 2011, through a combination of persistently high unemployment among the youth, rampant corruption, regional and social inequalities.<sup>9</sup> The deterioration of economic conditions due to the global 2008 financial crisis also pushed for a new social order in the Arab world.<sup>10</sup>

The socio-economic grievance in the region is linked to, and fuelled by, political demands. The rebellions were also a reaction to being humiliated by the political actors in the regions. The pre-existing civil society and political opposition groups had prepared the ground for the rebellions. The unprecedented widespread use of the social media and other means of communication made the rebellions possible and increased their strength and inclusiveness.<sup>11</sup> Each national group has its specific demands, and the movements have largely been characterised by acts of mass protest, often organised and promoted by users of the internet, particularly online

7. Katerina Dalacoura, "The 2011 Uprisings in the Arab Middle East: Political Change and Geopolitical Implication", *International Affairs*, 88(1), January 2012, pp. 65-67.

8. Matthias Scholz, "Al Jazeera English and the Arab Spring—Testing Claims of Bias", November 13, 2012, <http://www.exchangediplomacy.com/al-jazeera-english-and-the-arab-spring-testing-claims-of-bias>. Accessed on November 20, 2012.

9. Dalacoura, n.7, p. 67.

10. For details, see Raed H. Charafeddin, "The Economic and Financial Impacts of the Arab Awakening," <http://belfercenter.ksg.harvard.edu/files/The%20Economic%20and%20Financial%20Impacts%20of%20the%20Arab%20Awakening%20-%20Raed%20H%20-%20Charafeddine%20-%20Sep%20%202011.pdf>. Accessed on November 25, 2012.

11. Natana J. Delong-Bas, "The New Social Media and the Arab Spring", *Oxford Islamic Studies Online*, URL: [http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/Public/focus/essay0611\\_social\\_media.html](http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/Public/focus/essay0611_social_media.html). Accessed on November 29, 2012,

social networks such as Twitter and Facebook.<sup>12</sup> West Asia has been known to be immune to the waves of democratisation which have transformed other regions. In terms of the prospects for democratic change, it is clear that the consequences of the rebellions will be mixed and a transition to democracy is in the process, involving the people's participation.

Contradictorily, none of the uprisings was led by an Islamist movement or the demand for an Islamist state. Most of the demands have focussed on greater freedom of expression, rights for political participation, widespread unemployment, and an end to corruption and authoritarianism.<sup>13</sup> They were post-ideological, patriotic and introverted in the sense of being focussed on internal national politics. In cases where Islamists may benefit directly from the unfolding political changes, as in Tunisia and Egypt, they look for inspiration to the success of Turkey's AKP (Justice and Development Party) rather than to Iran.<sup>14</sup> The inclusion of Islamist groups in a more openly contested political process may weaken in the long term, as their lack of distinct and effective political programmes is revealed. The single biggest outcome of the Arab Spring so far has been the marginalisation of the peace talks between the Palestinians and Israel, which, nonetheless, remains the dominant question in the region.

### **NEW WAVE OF DEMOCRATISATION**

The uprisings are reminiscent of the views of Samuel P. Huntington's "third wave of democratisation"<sup>15</sup> which could also be applied to the Arab world. The new democracies in the region are yet to be fully consolidated because the electoral institutions and political democracy remain fragile. The reasons for fragility include economic instability, continued elite dominance in politics and ongoing military interference

---

12. Ethan Zuckerman, January 14, 2012, "The First Twitter Revolution"? *Foreign Policy*, URL: [http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/01/14/the\\_first\\_twitter\\_revolution](http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2011/01/14/the_first_twitter_revolution). Accessed on November 29, 2012.

13. Ibid.

14. Robert Malley, et al., "Israel, Turkey and Iran in the Changing Arab World," January 5, 2012, Middle East Policy Council, URL: <http://www.mepec.org/journal/middle-east-policy-archives/israel-turkey-and-iran-changing-arab-world>. Accessed on November 30, 2012.

15. For details, see Samuel P. Huntington, "Democracy's Third Wave" *Journal of Democracy*, 2(2), Spring 1991, pp. 12-34.

in civilian affairs.<sup>16</sup> The democratic revolutions in the West Asia region have coincided with the growth of the middle class, empowered by the universal spread of information and communication technology. The uprisings will lead to the democratisation of Arab West Asia and the dislodging of the longstanding authorisation. In geo-political terms, internal political changes in the Arab world will cause shifts in the balance of power across the region, which will affect Iran, Turkey, Israel as well as the West. The Arab democratic wave is also part of a much broader global shift toward a post-Western world in which the global agenda is no longer defined by the West alone.<sup>17</sup> In “the Clash of Civilizations,” Huntington discusses the concept of an essential cultural difference between the liberal, democratic, secular West and the “rest”, including the Islamic world. The Western values possess little cultural resonance to describe the emerging pattern of global politics and conflicts in the post- Cold War context.<sup>18</sup>

However, the demands or hopes of most rebellions will not lead to early democracy in any shape. In Yemen, weak state institutions, unable to sustain the rule of law, do not bode well for the emergence of a democratic system. In Libya, the dictator was overthrown, but not as a result of a unified internal movement for change. The longstanding weakness of state institutions and civil society in Libya, as well as the presence of numerous armed militias and the current absence of a strong central authority, following the civil war, mean that democracy will take its own time to be established. In Bahrain, the suppression of the insurrection and the shrinking of the middle ground extinguished any prospect for meaningful democratic reform.<sup>19</sup> In Syria, violent confrontation and the threat of civil war makes democratisation unlikely. Despite their challenges, Tunisia and Egypt are better places to democratise than countries such as Libya, Yemen, and Syria (if a regime change occurs), which have severe internal divisions and have experienced, or are continuing to experience, serious violence associated with the movements for

---

16. Larry Diamond, “Is the Third Wave Over?” *Journal of Democracy*, 7(3), 1996.

17. Alvaro de Vasconcelos, “Listening to Unfamiliar Voices - The Arab Democratic Wave”, *European Union Institute for Security Studies*, 2012, p. 19.

18. See Samuel Huntington, “The Clash of Civilizations?” *Foreign Affairs*, 72, 1993, pp. 22-49.

19. Dalacoura, n.7, p. 72.

political change.<sup>20</sup> Democratisation in Tunisia, Libya and especially in Egypt, a populous and potentially the most influential Arab country, could provide pivotal examples for the rest of the region, even if it proceeds slowly.<sup>21</sup> The development will test the ability to champion an Islamist agenda to pursue political and social aims within a democratic system alongside a secular orientation.<sup>22</sup>

Conditions in Iran suggest that a "Persian Spring" is possible. But the Iranians have not so far followed in the footsteps of the Tunisian, Egyptian, Libyan, Yemeni and Syrian revolutionaries. The Green Movement is divided and leaderless, and it faces an even more fundamental weakness.<sup>23</sup> It seeks to preserve the very same Islamic Republic that opposes it, complete with a Constitution that empowers unelected and unaccountable governing bodies that prevent free and fair elections. The Green Movement's inherent weakness, however, has not given way to total suppression of the democracy movement in Iran. The Iranians have increasingly engaged in acts of civil disobedience independent of the Green Movement and its leadership.<sup>24</sup> The Iranians, much like the Tunisians and Egyptians, are capable of challenging their government on their own. They do not need direct external material or financial aid to counter their governments. The US and other countries might not be able, through diplomacy and sanctions, to dissuade the Islamic Republic from continuing its nuclear programme, but they can demonstrate that they are on the side of the Iranian democrats who could well rule Iran one day.<sup>25</sup>

## INDIA'S RESPONSE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

India's relationship with the Arab world goes back to millennia. There

20. Jim Muir, "Syria Crisis: What Chance for New Opposition Coalition?" November 12, 2012, URL: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-20302512>. Accessed on December 3, 2012.

21. Laurel E. Miller, et al., "Democratization in the Arab World: Prospects and Lesson from Around the Globe" (RAND, National Defense Research Institute, 2012), pp. 20-21.

22. Ibid., p. 294.

23. Hamid Dabashi, "The Green Movement in Iran", *Middle East Quarterly*, Summer 2011, 19(3), p. 174. Also see, Ramin Jahanbegloo, "The Green Movement and Non-violent Struggle in Iran", URL: <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2012-09-05-jahanbegloo-en.htm>. Accessed on December 3, 2012.

24. James Dobbins, et al., "How to Defuse Iran's Nuclear Threat, Bolster Diplomacy, Israeli Security and the Iranian Citizenry" *Rand Review*, vol. 36. no 1., pp 22-24.

25. Ibid.

is evidence that ancient Indian civilisation had contacts with Egypt and Mesopotamia. In the modern times, India's freedom struggle had inspired and reached out to the Arab nationalists even before India's own independence.<sup>26</sup> With regard to India's foreign policy, the impact of the uprisings has been complex, and profoundly altered its parameters. In recognition of its growing global role and its status as the world's largest democracy, India can play a unique role in supporting the democratic forces that have produced the Arab Spring. As demands for democratic change swell in the West Asian countries, India's liberal system gives it a unique strategic advantage that New Delhi should seize.

India was one of the ten founding members of the Community of Democracies and a leading co-founder of the UN Democracy Fund, dedicated to promoting good governance and human rights around the world.<sup>27</sup> India has participated in the multilateral activities of the Centre for Democratic Transitions, the Partnership for Democratic Governance, and the Asia-Pacific Democracy Partnership.<sup>28</sup> Being one of the fastest growing free market democracies, India should have a national interest in building up the new West Asia. Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, Yemen, Syria, and the Gulf states will need to establish the institutions of good governance, from strong political parties to independent judiciaries. So one can question, what is India's stance on the Arab Spring? New Delhi's advice and assistance would make these countries better places for Indian workers and better allies in stabilising a region of great strategic importance to India's development, provide more reliable energy suppliers, more prosperous trade and investment partners. These countries are among the major importers of the Indian mango.<sup>29</sup> And it has become clear that the political turbulence in some of these countries has thrown the lives of Indian mango growers out of gear.

---

26. Gulshan Dietl, "India and Arab Spring: Regime Changes in North Africa", Occasional Papers, *Middle East Institute* (New Delhi), No. 28, October 17, 2011.

27. For details, see "Community of Democracies", URL: [http://community-democracies.org/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=1&Itemid=23](http://community-democracies.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1&Itemid=23). Accessed on December 7, 2012. Also see, "Democracy and United Nations", URL: <http://www.un.org/en/events/democracyday/pdf/presskit.pdf>. Accessed on December 7, 2012.

28. See "Democratic Governance", *United Nations Development Programme*, URL: <http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/ourwork/democraticgovernance/overview.html>. Accessed on December 7, 2012.

29. Sivaramakrishnan Parameswaran, "Arab Spring Hits Indian Mango Producers", *BBC News*, URL: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/business-16682636>. Accessed on December 7, 2012.

India has a coherent 'Look East' policy to boost its economic and security ties with its economically dynamic Asia-Pacific neighbourhood. But it lacks a similar policy framework for ties with its Islamic neighbours in the Persian Gulf, where over 5 million Indians reside and work. India gets over 70 per cent of its crucial oil from the Gulf countries.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, with its trade deficit growing rapidly, India's balance of payments is crucially dependent on the growing remittances it receives from overseas Indians, estimated at \$50 billion in 2010.<sup>31</sup> India needs to play a balancing act while dealing with the crisis in the Gulf.

The fall of Libya's Muammar Gaddafi<sup>32</sup> stands as the latest, most dramatic episode in the explosive changes occurring in today's Middle East. As Libyans—and their counterparts in Egypt, Tunisia, Yemen, and elsewhere—start down the difficult path of political change, India possesses a historic opportunity. In recognition of its growing global role and its status as the world's largest democracy, India can play a unique role in supporting the democratic forces that have produced the Arab Spring.<sup>33</sup>

New Delhi is increasingly drawn into decision-making in the world's most critical regions. India has voted with the other great powers on the UN Security Council to impose sanctions on Libya<sup>34</sup> following Col Gaddafi's brutal crackdown. Millions of Indians in West Asia are witnessing the Arab people agitate for freedom. And New Delhi's posture toward developments in countries like Syria and Iran are of increasing consequence for the decision-makers.

---

30. G. Parthasarathy, "Oil, Islam and Diplomacy, *Asian Affairs*, February 2011, URL: <http://asianaffairs.in/february2011/india-middle-east-relations.html>. Accessed on December 8, 2012.

31. G. Parthasarathy, "India-Middle East Relations", February 2011, URL: <http://asianaffairs.in/february2011/india-middle-east-relations.html>. Accessed on December 8, 2012.

32. He was a Libyan revolutionary, politician and leading advocate for the United States of Africa. He served as the Chairperson of the African Union from February 2, 2009 to January 31, 2010.

33. Richard Fontaine, and Daniel Twining, "India's Arab Spring Opportunity," August 24, 2011, URL: <http://globalpublicsquare.blogs.cnn.com/2011/08/24/indias-arab-spring-opportunity/>. Accessed on December 8, 2012.

34. "Security Council Committee Established Pursuant to Resolution 1970(2011) Concerning Libya" URL: <http://www.un.org/sc/committees/1970/>. Accessed on December 12, 2012.

While the Arab regimes may be dependent on American support, the mood in the Arab street is distinctly anti-American — a phenomenon the Iranians are cleverly exploiting. India's relations with the Arab Gulf states have shown a distinct improvement after the visits of Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah to India in January 2006 and of Dr. Manmohan Singh to Riyadh in February-March 2010. India has received assurances from Saudi Arabia of meeting its growing requirements of oil.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, India's relations with Oman, the UAE and Qatar have expanded significantly. Qatar has emerged as an important supplier of Liquefied Natural Gas (LNG).

With the second largest population of Shias in the world,<sup>36</sup> domestic political considerations cannot be ignored in India's relations with the Persian Gulf states. India, however, recognises that a nuclear armed Iran will have a profoundly destabilising impact on the Persian Gulf. New Delhi does, however, have to carefully balance the interest its shares with Iran in opposing the Taliban's extremism in Afghanistan, on the one hand, and its support for international efforts to ensure that Iran abides by its commitments under the nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, on the other. The Israelis and Americans now appear satisfied that Iran will be unable to acquire a nuclear arsenal at least till 2015. Realists in India, however, believe that Iran will retain its nuclear option, but exercise it only when the time is ripe. In short, realism and *realpolitik* are replacing rhetoric and romanticism in India's approach to the Middle East.<sup>37</sup>

India would have to recognise the consequences of closer ties with Iran upon its Gulf/ West Asian policy. Iran would be more influential than other regional and extra-regional powers and this would be felt especially in Bahrain, the Palestinian territories, Lebanon, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and Iraq. The Iranian role would not be constructive but inflammatory in nature. Hence, India's Iran

---

35. "Indo-Saudi Bilateral Relations", *The Times of India*, September 3, 2012 URL: [http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-09-03/saudi-arabia/34062840\\_1\\_riyadh-declaration-indo-saudi-prince-salman/2](http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2012-09-03/saudi-arabia/34062840_1_riyadh-declaration-indo-saudi-prince-salman/2). Accessed on December 12, 2012.

36. "India Third in Global Muslim Population", URL: [http://twocircles.net/2009oct08/india\\_third\\_global\\_muslim\\_population\\_1\\_57\\_bn.html](http://twocircles.net/2009oct08/india_third_global_muslim_population_1_57_bn.html). Accessed on January 5, 2013.

37. G. Parthasarathy, "India-Middle East Relations," February 2011, URL: <http://asianaffairs.in/february2011/india-middle-east-relations.html>. Accessed on January 5, 2013.

policy needs to factor in the Arab fears and concerns.<sup>38</sup> Moreover, the Middle East will continue to be important for India's energy security. India being a party to the Group-4 to change the setting of the United Nations Security Council, should play a proactive role in the West Asian region.

## CONCLUSION

New Delhi has the opportunity to help and shape the West Asian region – home to five million Indian citizens and a major source of India's energy supplies. For Indians, the West Asian region offers a better place to work than other parts of the world. The Arab Spring presents an opportunity to project New Delhi's soft power which is considerable in the region. India presents a working democratic model in a socio-cultural environment that is far closer to that of the Gulf countries than the Western democracies are—and with none of the political baggage of the latter.<sup>39</sup> India needs to participate in diplomatic, humanitarian and democracy-building options in the region. Being among the world's largest democracies, India should bring complementary strengths to the hard task of building a culture of democracy across the Arab world. India has a golden opportunity to assist in promoting democratic regimes in the region.

---

38. P.R. Kumaraswamy, "Uprising in the Arab World: Options for GOI", *IDSA Issue Brief*, March 20, 2011, p. 8.

39. "A New Engagement," *The Times of India*, February 28, 2011, [www. http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-02-28/edit-page/28641277\\_1\\_gulf-countries-soft-power-gulf-states](http://articles.timesofindia.indiatimes.com/2011-02-28/edit-page/28641277_1_gulf-countries-soft-power-gulf-states). Accessed on January 5, 2013.

# IAF IN MOOTW: CAPACITY BUILDING AN IMMEDIATE PRIORITY

NISHANT GUPTA

Recently, on January 18, 2013, the Naxals crashlanded a Mi-17 flying in Chhattisgarh area, tasked to evacuate policemen injured in a gun battle at Timilwara on the Chhattisgarh-Andhra Pradesh border, in the first incident of Naxals bringing down an Indian Air Force (IAF) helicopter operating in Operation Triveni. Fortunately, all the crew members and passengers survived. Though in its eight decades of incessant activities, the IAF has participated in numerous '*other than war*' operations in Indian territory, as well as in foreign lands, generally the literature and public perception is more focussed on its awe-inspiring war-time role, overlooking its significant and perpetual involvement in other than war operations. This Naxal incident calls for a greater understanding of Military Operations Other Than War (MOOTW) and the increasing role of the IAF in such operations.

Typically, when we mention '*other than war*' operations, the thought of disaster relief and humanitarian assistance crosses our minds and not that of a fighter aircraft or a combat operation. Nevertheless, these operations entail a wide range – operations

---

Wing Commander **Nishant Gupta** is a Research Fellow at the Centre for the Air Power Studies, New Delhi.

This paper reflects the views and conclusions of the author and not necessarily the opinions or policy of the Centre or any other institution.

involving violence or threat of application of force as well as peacetime operations not involving any combat element at all. MOOTW is a rather generic term which encompasses a wide spectrum, including power projection, Low Intensity Conflict Operations (LICO), Counter Insurgency Operations (COIN), Irregular Warfare (IW), peace operations comprising diplomatic signalling, peace-keeping, peacemaking, peace enforcement and peace-building, operations against non-state actors, etc.

This paper is an attempt to analyse the emerging trends the IAF would be facing in MOOTW against non-state actors, which must serve as a guide for the air strategy, force modernisation and capability building.

In the post Cold War era, America undeniably wields the biggest military in the world and would dominate any state-on-state conflict on all accounts since it does not have a true military competitor. However, post 9/11, non-state actors are being actively recognised as a potent threat with different sets of challenges which are in many cases more complicated than combating a conventional military foe. The US strategic community opines that though the US is well placed to deal with a conventional military adversary, it would increasingly find itself facing non-conventional foes, for which it is not prepared. Combating terrorism or COIN operations is hugely different from the conventional state-on-state conflicts and the associated operational, economic, and mindset challenges are also unique. The 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Centre and the 26/11 attack in Mumbai exhibit the capability of non-state actors to exploit commercially available inexpensive technology to conduct destructive attacks and shake up the national security set-up, leading to an expansive state response. The weapons and the methods of force employment against non-state actors are also different. Unlike state-on-state conflicts wherein engagement is between uniformed national militaries across national frontiers with an aim to end the conflict at the earliest, non-state actors merge with the local population and are difficult to identify and distinguish, and generally aim to prolong and procrastinate the conflict. The issue of collateral damage is also of great significance since winning the hearts and minds of the local population or their alienation is a function of collateral damage.

Alongside, Martin van Creveld, and some like-minded military theorists who are dismissive about the effectiveness of air power in low intensity conflict or MOOTW, opine that “in a world where almost all wars are fought not between states, but within them, many, if not most of, the elements (of air power) have become useless and obsolete.”<sup>1</sup> Is this opinion sustainable by historical facts? Probably not. A RAND report highlights that up to 1997, the US Air Force (USAF), and its predecessor, participated in over 800 MOOTW operations and 90 percent of the USAF sorties flown in MOOTW between 1990 and 1997 account for US peace operations.<sup>2</sup> And a 2005 US Congressional Research Service report reinforced the fact that military aviation plays a prominent role amongst the various tools available to find, identify, track, capture, neutralise or kill terrorists and other non-state actors.<sup>3</sup> The SIPRI Yearbook 2012 on *Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* also brings out that future peace operations would be more technology oriented rather than heavy on-the-ground military footprint, and technologies like the use of drones in tactical intelligence gathering would increase the operational abilities.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the trend essentially highlights increasing dependence on air power in MOOTW. At the same time, easy availability of Man-Portable Air Defence Systems (MANPADS) – even to the non-state actors for as little as US\$ 5,000 – has greatly complicated the employment of air power at low altitudes. Nonetheless, air power is still the politicians’ first instrument of choice in war as well as in other MOOTW, be it in Iraq, Kosovo, Bosnia, Afghanistan or Libya.

However, while analysing global trends, India must not draw the wrong lessons and should essentially focus on the prevailing situational and strategic differences:

- 
1. Martin van Creveld, “The Rise and Fall of Air Power,” *MHQ: The Quarterly Journal of Military History*, vol. 8, no. 3, Spring 1996, p. 81, cited in Dr. John Hillen, “Peacekeeping at the Speed of Sound: The Relevancy of Airpower Doctrine in Operations other than War”, *Airpower Journal*, Winter 1998.
  2. Alan J. Vick, David T. Orletsky, Abram N. Shulsky, John Stillion, “Preparing the U.S. Air Force for Military Operations Other Than War” (Santa Monica: RAND, 1997), Summary, p. iv.
  3. Christopher Bolkcom and Kenneth Katzman, *Military Aviation: Issues and Options for Combating Terrorism and Counterinsurgency* (Washington DC: Congressional Research Service, 2005).
  4. *SIPRI YEARBOOK 2012 Armaments, Disarmament and International Security* (Stockholm: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 90.

- In the post Cold War era, air power has been largely employed in huge asymmetrically advantageous conditions wherein the enemy air force was virtually absent, resulting in near total air dominance. However, India does not enjoy such an advantage with its potential adversaries, be it China or Pakistan.
- The US employs offensive air power in foreign lands far away from the homeland; hence, there is no threat of collateral damage to its countrymen or the infrastructure. Whereas India is combating, insurgency, terrorism and Naxalism within its mainland.
- For nations like the US and Israel, national interest is paramount and civilian casualties of foreign nationals – due to their acts ranging from military operations to economic sanctions – do not appear to perturb them. Israel frequently uses combat air power as a military tool against targets in the Gaza Strip and other enclaves, leading to significant civilian casualties. And the US did not exhibit any regret for the fact that US economic sanctions resulted in the death of 5 lakh Iraqi children. Rather, in 1996, Madeleine Albright, then US Ambassador to the UN, stated on national television that the price was worth paying.<sup>5</sup> On the contrary, the Indian leadership operates from a high moral ground and exhibits keen sensitivity to civilian casualties, irrespective of their nationality.

**IAF in Anti-Naxal Operations:** In the anti-Naxal operations, under Operation Triveni, six Mi 17 helicopters of the IAF have been deployed to cover a vast area from West Bengal, through Jharkhand, Odisha, Chhattisgarh and Andhra Pradesh, with the command and control centre at Raipur.<sup>6</sup> The Defensive Rules of Engagement dictate no use of offensive air power till the IAF is fired upon. The IAF is meeting operational requirements despite lack of supporting infrastructure; it faces inadequacy of fuel, poor ground facilities and lack of security cover which the state and paramilitary services are supposed to provide. As per Air Chief Mshl N.A.K. Browne, despite

---

5. Arundhati Roy, *Algebra of Infinite Justice* (New Delhi: Viking, 2001) p. 225.

6. Shiv Aroor, "Forces on Ground Engaged in Anti-Naxal Operations Endangering Pilots' Lives, IAF tells MHA", *India Today*, July 5, 2012, accessed at <http://indiatoday.intoday.in/story/indian-air-force-anti-naxal-operations-endangering-pilots-lives-iaf-tells-mha/1/203956.html>. Accessed on October 29, 2012.

all the limitations, up to September 2012 under Operation Triveni, the IAF flew more than 5,000 sorties in three years lifting more than 30,000 troops.<sup>7</sup> To meet the deficiency of rotary-wing platforms, the IAF contingents deployed in UN missions have been recalled and to further strengthen air operations, 80 Mi17V5 helicopters from Russia have also been contracted.<sup>8</sup> As of now, the role of the IAF in anti-Maoist and counter-insurgency operations is politically limited to reconnaissance and transport operations essentially due to limited resources, the sensitivity towards collateral damage, and the inherent challenge of the potential for escalation.

Though the employment of the IAF in offensive operations (attacking role) seems highly unlikely, other air power roles including Intelligence, Surveillance and Reconnaissance (ISR), search and rescue, airlift for speedy induction and de-induction of troops, air maintenance and casualty evacuation would be increasingly exploited, and capacity building for this emerging commitment is inescapable.

### **CAPACITY BUILDING APPROACH**

India fundamentally believes that peace is indivisible and maintaining international peace and stability would serve the larger interest of the nation. Historically, India has never invaded or attacked any nation and has always endeavoured to address all geo-political issues through diplomatic efforts. All its wars have been thrust upon it. Moreover, unlike the situation in the USA and Europe where North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) forces are not likely to face any force-on-force war because of the virtual absence of any such adversary in the near vicinity, in India, the possibility of a war cannot be ruled out. Since a war can only be deterred by developing military capability commensurate to the perceived threat and not just by good intentions, India has no choice but to develop military capability proportionate to its potential national defence challenges. At the same time, the changing nature of warfare and emerging internal non-traditional

---

7. Sujan Dutta, "Night Copters for Maoist Fight", [www.telegraphindia.com](http://www.telegraphindia.com). Accessed on November 5, 2012.

8. "IAF Wants Naxal-hit States to Improve Infrastructure", *The Hindu* (New Delhi), October 5, 2012.

threats like Naxalism and Kashmir terrorism mandate greater military involvement in MOOTW.<sup>9</sup> Alongside, an aspiring global power has to have matching capability to effectively handle non-combat MOOTW, be it disaster relief, humanitarian assistance or peace operations, territorial as well as out-of-country.

Therefore, in the given circumstance, what should be the focussed priority of the decision-makers: war-waging potential or MOOTW? Whilst the primary aim of the IAF is to wage and win a war which is a highly infrequent phenomenon, significantly, many MOOTW are a routine reality and a '*non-glamorous*' responsibility which cannot be wished away. Selective employment in MOOTW would certainly strengthen the IAF in terms of providing realistic experience and practical exposure in critical areas such as command and control, decision-making, logistics and support operations, special operations, ISR, coordination with the military of friendly nations, and understanding of own and sister Services' capabilities and limitations. Involvement in MOOTW missions and international exercises not only offers valuable operational experience but also improves the ability to conduct combat operations which furthers the central objective of enhancing the national image and deterring war. To fight against drug cartels, terrorists and criminal violence, many nations, including China, Colombia, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela have formally involved the armed forces in internal security missions.<sup>10</sup>

The IAF doctrine also highlights the increasing threat from proliferation of terrorism, non-state actors and asymmetric warfare as national security challenges and lays emphasis on the need to review the roles, missions and capabilities of air power to handle these threats emanating from guerrillas, insurgents, terrorists and extremists.<sup>11</sup> Therefore, the practical approach would be to enhance the significance attached to MOOTW and undertake capacity

9. The political leadership must not forget the basic premise that insurgency and terrorism are part of political problems which need a political solution. Fundamentally, use of force in anti-insurgency operations should be restricted to the bare minimum and combat operations must be aimed at creating a window of peace essentially required for implementing a political solution. A lasting peace can only be harnessed by social and economic well-being achieved through good governance.

10. Dirk Kruijt and Kees Koonings, "From Political Armies to the 'War Against Crime'", in Anna Stavrianakis and Jan Selby, eds., *Militarism and International Relations* (NY: Rutledge, 2013), p. 100.

11. *Basic Doctrine of the Indian Air Force: IAP 2000-12* (New Delhi: Indian Air Force, 2012).

building and force modernisation in such a manner that a balance is maintained between war-waging potential and MOOTW roles. The endeavour shall be to harness synergy between both the integral roles. Increased involvement in MOOTW and non-traditional tasks also helps in justifying capacity building, force modernisation, infrastructure upgrade and greater financial outlay to the politico-administrative leadership as well as the international diplomatic and strategic community.

However, in operations against non-state actors within the Indian territory, the political leadership is expected to be more comfortable in employing the police and paramilitary forces rather than involving the IAF in the direct operations, as it brings out the failure of the state and paramilitary forces and amplifies the gravity of the problem and political tension. Hence, the likelihood of meeting the air assets demands of the state police and paramilitary forces is high. Presently, paramilitary forces are using the Netra, a mini Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) developed by the Defence Research and Development Organisation (DRDO), and plans are afoot to raise dedicated air intelligence units.<sup>12</sup> Alongside, diverse national priorities associated with a defensive mindset have resulted in limited budgetary support to national security and defence. Budgetary limitations would definitely lead to a debate on how much emphasis is to be placed on enhancing IAF capabilities and what should be the quantum of air power resources to be allocated to the other military and civil agencies, including state police and paramilitary forces, that are incessantly demanding their own air power assets.

To address this issue in a larger perspective, one must begin with the most fundamental principle of air power which advocates unity of command and control of the air assets. According to this principle, air power should be centrally controlled by an '*air commander*'.<sup>13</sup> Secondly, to safeguard the national air space and to prevent air space violations like the Purulia arms dropping on December 18, 1995, it is necessary to have a central agency to at least monitor all air movements of general as well as military aviation. The IAF radars and establishments like

---

12. Vijaita Singh, "CRPF to Buy Advanced UAVs to Fight Naxals", *The Indian Express* (New Delhi), October 7, 2012.

13. Johnny R. Jones, "Air Power", *Air & Space Power Journal*, <http://www.airpower.au.af.mil/airchronicles/cc/jjones.html>. Accessed on November 10, 2012.

Movement Liaison Units (MLUs) established alongside big airports like Delhi, Mumbai, Kolkata, Chennai, Ahmadabad, etc. are already doing this to some extent. The Joint Control and Analysis Centre (JCAC) has also been established and is being jointly manned by the IAF officials and the Airport Authority to meet the anti-hijacking challenges and deal with doubtful, rogue and threat aircraft.<sup>14</sup> The growing civil aviation sector and increasing military air power assets would certainly make the air space more crowded, which, in turn, would increase the complexities of the air space monitoring mechanism. Thus, unity of command and control has to rest with a centralised agency. And the IAF, being the repository of national air defence, should obviously be the first choice. Such institutionalisation would also play a vital role in avoiding recurrence of the past instances of severe losses, which the nation suffered due to bypassing the IAF in air operations.<sup>15</sup> Thirdly, a nation with limited resources cannot afford to neglect the conventional wisdom of not stretching its scarce air power resources too thin. At present, against the approved levels of 39 and a half squadrons, actual combat squadron strength of the IAF is just about 28 squadrons; which is coupled with considerable deficiency in training platforms, transport assets, weapon systems and other equipment. Hence, force modernisation and capacity building of the IAF, the organisation responsible for the national air defence, is an essential priority. The temptation to distribute the scarce air power assets amongst various military and civil organisations has to be essentially curbed, at least for the time being.

### THE WAY AHEAD

The IAF must organise, equip, transform and train itself in such a

---

14. Interview of Air Mshl P.K. Barbora (former AOC-in-C, Western Air Command, IAF) published in *Sainik Samachar*, Delhi, May 01-08, 2008 and Sanjay Jain, "Aviation Security: Evaluating the New Anti-Hijacking Policy of India" in Gautam Sen, ed., *Conceptualizing Security for India in the 21st Century* (New Delhi: Atlantic Publishers, 2007), pp. 69-70.

15. A case in point is the shooting down of the Beechcraft of then Gujarat Chief Minister Shri Balwantraji Mehta by a Pakistani fighter in the Kutch area during the 1965 War. Almost half a century later, in 2011, Qais Hussain, the pilot of the Pakistani aircraft, apologised to the daughter of Jehangir Engineer, the pilot of that ill-fated Beechcraft, stating that Pakistan mistook the aircraft to be a surveillance aircraft. But the central issue is that this grave national loss could have been avoided had the IAF been kept in the loop.

manner that participation in MOOTW strengthens its war-winning potential. Capabilities, type and strength of assets, organisational framework, training, etc are to be realigned accordingly. Creation of a special Directorate at the Air Headquarters (HQ)—which may be named the Directorate of MOOTW—would help in dealing with, and coordinating, all the MOOTW related aspects in a focussed manner. Alongside, the acquisition plans for the induction of the 126 Medium Multi-Role Combat Aircraft (MMRCA), 120 Tejas Light Combat Aircraft (LCA), 214 Indo-Russian Fifth Generation Fighter Aircraft (FGFA) and a total of 272 Su-30MKI air dominance fighters,<sup>16</sup> the procurement philosophy of the IAF must also prioritise acquisition of platforms and equipment essentially required in anti-Naxal and anti-insurgency activities like special operations aircraft, attack helicopters and UAVs. The ongoing acquisition of 12 Lockheed Martin C-130J Super Hercules special operations aircraft and plans for acquiring 22 Boeing AH-64D Apache attack helicopters, 15 heavy-lift helicopters, 139 Mi-17 V5 medium-lift helicopters and 125 utility helicopters are steps in the right direction.

It is also critical to scale up MOOTW related training at all levels, starting from pre-commissioning training for officers and *ab-initio* training for airmen. The operational experience of air warriors who have participated in various MOOTW (including UN missions, Operation Pawan in Sri Lanka and Operation Triveni) must be effectively utilised in strengthening the professional military education and training process. Establishment of a College of MOOTW under the Indian National Defence University (INDU) – which is being established at Manesar in Gurgaon – would go a long way in promoting focussed studies, research and training. Alongside, deliberations on all the dimensions and complexities of the ‘other than war’ operations and formulation (and propagation) of an official viewpoint on its diverse intricacies are also essential. Bringing out the *basic doctrine of the IAF* in the public domain is a good beginning. The efforts need to continue and more issue specific literature, including a comprehensive publication on MOOTW, must follow.

At the same time, the national leadership has to guard against

16. Joseph Noronha, “The IAF at 79: The Challenges Ahead”, *Indian Defence Review*, New Delhi, June 1, 2012, [www.indiandefencereview.com/news/the-iaf-at-79-the-challenges-ahead-2/](http://www.indiandefencereview.com/news/the-iaf-at-79-the-challenges-ahead-2/). Accessed on November 22, 2012.

the excessive involvement of the IAF in MOOTW as it may lead to the IAF losing sight of the ultimate goal of deterring and waging a conventional war, which would be dangerous for national security and defence. Hence, the political leadership has to be prudent in assigning only selective MOOTW to the IAF, which the national civil agencies, police and paramilitary forces are not capable or equipped to handle. With respect to participation in UN peace-keeping operations and out-of-country operations, formulation of broad national guidelines with inherent flexibility merits consideration.

In the given resource crunch, the nation cannot afford the luxury of duplication of efforts or resources and the best option to meet the war-time air power requirements as well as those of MOOTW is the balanced development of the IAF and its capability building in a focussed manner. And at a later stage—after the IAF absorbs and consolidates its capabilities commensurate to the national requirements—depending on the budgetary resources and threat perception, additional air power resources may be made available to the Army, the paramilitary forces, state police and intelligence agencies like the National Technical Research Organisation (NTRO). While doing so, the IAF's expertise in providing standardisation, assistance, training and advice, must be utilised.

# FINDING LIMITS TO THE SINO-PAK NUCLEAR NEXUS

MANPREET SETHI

The Sino-Pak relationship stands out for its endurance and profitability for both countries. Given that China has provided support in the nuclear realm, conventional weaponry and political backing to Pakistan, it is hardly surprising that the bond is perceived within Pakistan to be stronger and steadier than any other that it currently enjoys. Certainly, more so than Pakistan's relationship with the US which may have brought in tens of billions of dollars into the country, but is suffering from a severe emotional and trust deficit, especially since May 2011 when the USA swooped down in Abbotabad to take out Osama bin Laden. Interestingly, 2011, which was the China-Pakistan Year of Friendship and marked 60 years of their diplomatic relations, turned out to be the worst for US-Pakistan relations.

The Sino-Pak nuclear link is deeply symbiotic. It primarily grows from two major common security concerns – India and the USA.<sup>1</sup> For

---

Dr **Manpreet Sethi** is a Senior Fellow at the Centre for the Air Power Studies, New Delhi.

1. Some scholars have also listed other motivating factors for the relationship such as China's desire to obtain a gateway to the Muslim world through Pakistan and access to the energy rich West and Central Asia. For instance, see Rajshree Jetly, "Sino-Pakistan Strategic Entente: Implications for Regional Security", *ISAS Working Paper*, no. 143, February 14, 2012, available at [www.isas.nus.edu.sg](http://www.isas.nus.edu.sg). However, the author of this paper does not find these reasons convincing enough since China is well aware of the limited influence that Pakistan has in contemporary times with most of its Muslim neighbourhood.

Pakistan, the primary motivation for the nuclear weapon has been the threat perceived from a militarily superior India. From its inception, the Pakistani nuclear programme has been India-centric. In 1974, in response to India's peaceful nuclear explosion, Pakistani Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto is known to have said, "If India builds the bomb, we will eat grass and leaves for a thousand years, even go hungry, but we will get one of our own." It is a different matter that instead of facing any major financial adversity in developing this technology, Pakistan chose instead to build useful alliances – with Saudi Arabia and the Muslim world for financial assistance; with China for nuclear material, weapon design and help even in nuclear testing; and with North Korea for missiles.

Pakistan signed a bilateral nuclear agreement with China in June 1976. The historic import of this relationship was rather cryptically described by Z.A. Bhutto as "my greatest achievement and contribution to the survival of our people and our nation"<sup>2</sup> and he rated it as one of the highlights of his political career. The actual sensitive nuclear transfers took place in the decade of the 1980s and the package included uranium enrichment technology, weapons grade uranium and a nuclear weapons design. China aided Pakistan by assisting in the design and construction of nuclear weapons, in transferring significant quantities of weapons grade fissile material, and constructing facilities to produce more such material. Pakistan appears to have made three types of gains from the Chinese transfers. One, of the material kind that enabled the country to craft the first few weapons and overcome strategic hurdles in uranium enrichment and plutonium weapon technologies; two, psychological gains that raised Pakistan's confidence to conduct a foreign policy (especially vis-a-vis India and the USA) of its own choice; and three, commercial benefits that accrued to the country from the sale of nuclear weapons material and technology.

Pakistan believes that the nuclear weapons have provided it with a "life-sustaining quality", the "oxygen"<sup>3</sup> that has enabled it to extract

2. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, *If I am Assassinated...* (New Delhi: Vikas Publishing Co., 1979), p. 138.
3. Gen Mirza Aslam Beg had said in 1994, "Oxygen is basic to life, and one does not debate its desirability... nuclear deterrence has assumed that life saving property for Pakistan", in his article "Pakistan's Nuclear Imperatives", *National Development and Security*, vol.3, no.10, November 1994, pp. 29-41.

multiple benefits from their very presence. With one stroke, it has managed to rein in the superior conventional military of India, while simultaneously increasing its relevance and manipulative power with the United States.

For China too, its decision to proliferate to Pakistan has been anchored in a coherent, strategic logic. The nuclear and missile related transfers have complicated America's involvement in the region, provided a means for projecting its power as a big player (such as when it insists on nuclear cooperation with Pakistan in defiance of the Nuclear Suppliers Group – NSG), while, at the same time, boxing India into South Asia. In a sense, Pakistan became a proxy for China's nuclear capability and, in the process, China became the sponsor of Pakistan's destabilising strategies against India to prevent it from rising to a near peer competitor in Asia. From the Chinese perspective, it was well understood that nuclear weapons with Pakistan would "complicate India's strategic calculations, refocus India's strategic attention away from Beijing and toward Islamabad, prevent India from dominating South Asia, and undermine Indian aspirations of challenging China in East Asia."<sup>4</sup>

Besides containment of India, it is also a fact that China was not repelled by the thought of nuclear proliferation. Rather, it perceived it as an asymmetric tool for reducing American hegemony and influence. It was clear to China that horizontal proliferation adversely impacted American power projection despite its preponderant conventional and nuclear capabilities. The same view was shared by Pakistan too. It is telling that nearly all of Pakistan's nuclear customers – Iraq, Iran, Libya and North Korea – were nations that had a difficult relationship with the USA. They were all anti-West in their ideological orientation. Gen Beg, Pakistan's Chief of the Army Staff from 1988 to 1991, the period of enhanced proliferation,

4. Matthew Kroenig, *Exporting the Bomb: Technology Transfer and the Spread of Nuclear Weapons* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2010), p 115. Kanti Bajpai has identified five factors that motivated Beijing to invest in the Pakistani nuclear programme, "maintaining a tested alliance relationship; limiting US influence in Pakistan; responding to Washington's military and political support to Taiwan; cultivating a moderate and influential Muslim state; and gaining access to Pakistan's US-supplied advanced conventional weapon systems and possibly also to Pakistan's nuclear technology." As cited by Satyabrat Sinha, "China in Pakistan's Security Perceptions" in Swaran Singh, ed., *China-Pakistan Strategic Cooperation: Indian Perspectives* (New Delhi: Manohar Publications, 2007), p. 98

supported it because he believed that it “could constrain US military power and improve Pakistan’s relative standing in regional affairs”.<sup>5</sup> He believed that these states, along with Pakistan, and supported by China, could form an alliance of strategic defiance against the USA and that it was in “Pakistan’s national interest for more countries to have bombs, thereby... reducing the power of the United States.”<sup>6</sup> Consequently, both China and Pakistan found a common interest in promoting the spread of nuclear weapons to others, especially to those who could further complicate the security calculations of the USA and India.

This shared interest is unlikely to recede in the coming years. In fact, with the USA in relative decline, and with India gaining steadily though slowly in economic strength and political influence, there is an apparent perception in Beijing and Islamabad that Indian and American interests are not only becoming more congruent, but that they could also pose a threat to them individually and regionally. Such a conclusion should further cement the relationship between China and Pakistan. Pakistan extracts obvious advantages from staying linked to China. It is not for nothing that former Pakistan Prime Minister Yousaf Raza Gilani had described the relationship as “higher than mountains, deeper than oceans, stronger than steel and sweeter than honey”.<sup>7</sup> As regards China, some analysts have suggested that Beijing has an “unwavering commitment to Pakistan’s security in the overall framework of its own strategic vision for the region”.<sup>8</sup> Therefore, they perceive that the relationship is likely to remain unchanged for a long time to come.

Is this really true? China and Pakistan may have drawn roughly equal benefits from their nexus in the past, but will China continue to nurture this relationship if the advantages begin to skew against it? Given the high level of pragmatism in Chinese foreign policy, it may be stated with fair certainty that there are limits to the nexus. If China finds it damaging for its national security, and some of the

5. Kroenig, n.3, p. 138.

6. Gordon Corera, *Shopping for Bombs: Nuclear Proliferation, Global Insecurity and the Rise and Fall of the AQ Khan Network* (New Delhi: Foundation Books, 2006), p. 79

7. Statement made during the visit of Chinese Public Security Minister, Meng Jianzho to Pakistan in September 2011, and reported in “Ties with China Hailed: Gilani Cautions US on Negative Messaging”, *Dawn*, September 28, 2011.

8. Jetley, n.1, p. 6.

developments within Pakistan could turn out to be so, then China is unlikely to continue investing in the relationship with the same rigour and commitment.

This article prognosticates on how the Sino-Pak relationship will play out in the future. Given that India has a high level of threat perception from the Sino-Pak nexus, common sense demands that India should search for fault lines in their relationship. The paper identifies three such issues.

### **DANGERS FROM GROWING INFLUENCE OF RELIGIOUS FUNDAMENTALISM**

While the Sino-Pak relationship is premised on common interests, it is certainly not anchored in a common ideology. In fact, while Pakistan is a theological state that unhesitatingly accepts a heavy influence of Islam, China's Communism is distinctly uncomfortable with a role for religion in statecraft. It is for this reason that China is wary of its Muslim citizenry in Xinjiang, its largest province that not only borders Pakistan but also is its second largest producer of gas and oil. The region has long had a restive Uighur population that has expressed a desire to establish an independent Islamic state. The Uighur militants have received material and moral support from the *jihadists* in Pakistan and their presence has often been reported in Pakistan's tribal areas. Beijing is not oblivious to the possibility of a spillover of rising extremism into Xinjiang and is known to have conveyed concerns over the training being received by the Uighurs in Pakistan run terrorist training camps and their links with Islamist militants, especially the East Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM). This outfit had been responsible for the attack on Kashgar in Xinjiang in July 2011. China had then expressed its strong displeasure to Pakistan and in April 2012, even asked Islamabad to extradite six core members of ETIM and provide for the establishment of Chinese military bases in Pakistani areas bordering China in order to deal with the threat themselves.

For the time being, Pakistan has tried to ensure that the issue does not escalate.<sup>9</sup> But, the control of the Pakistani establishment over the many terrorist organisations is also not complete any longer. In fact,

---

9. "Xinjiang Connection", *Dawn*, August 3, 2011.

it may be surmised that the likelihood of a *jihadist* spillover would increase after the withdrawal of US troops from Afghanistan in case they were to leave behind an unstable and poorly governed country. A Taliban dominated Kabul would mean that the Uighurs would have a sympathetic ally, an available training ground and a safe haven in Afghanistan to mount a credible threat to China. Meanwhile, the threat would be exacerbated if Islamabad itself was to succumb to an increased influence of the radical Islamic elements. In such case, the domestic nature of Pakistan could make China distinctly uncomfortable. Therefore, as it appears, a more theologically radical Pakistan would cause more concern for China.

### **DANGERS FROM FISSILE MATERIAL INCREASES**

In the backdrop of the above, China cannot be oblivious to the danger of nuclear terrorism from Pakistan. The rampant political instability and the continuing policy of support for terrorism that has long been harboured by the Pakistan Army has resulted in an uncontrolled spread of terrorist organisations. Many of these are today as anti-USA or anti-India as they are anti-Pak establishment and their attacks on Pakistan's sensitive military establishments prove this. In fact, there have also been instances of militant attacks on Chinese citizens. The most publicised of these was the kidnapping of some Chinese in 2007 during the Lal Masjid siege. Under pressure from China, the Pakistani government had taken action against the militants, but they had then retaliated in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa by executing three Chinese engineers later in the same year. Since then, China and Pakistan have set up a Joint Bilateral Task Force to address the threats to the nearly 13,000 Chinese nationals working in the over 100 economic projects in Pakistan. Nevertheless, these measures are handicapped by the inability of the Pakistani government to exercise complete control over their activities.

Given this scenario, one can never discount the possibility of these organisations being able to infiltrate, sabotage or steal enough nuclear material for a dirty bomb to conduct an act of nuclear terrorism. A recent book, *Confronting the Bomb*, by a Pakistani nuclear scientist, highlights this threat. The author states, "The fear of loose weapons comes from the fact that Pakistan's armed forces harbour a hidden

enemy within their ranks. Those wearing the cloak of religion freely walk in and out of top security nuclear installations every day”, and he describes the Pakistan Army as “a heavily Islamicised rank and file brimming with seditious thoughts”.<sup>10</sup>

Such a situation should make China reconsider its continuing support for providing facilities to Pakistan that enable it to quickly accumulate more and more fissile material. While the addition to the nuclear arsenal is justified by Pakistan for its first use doctrine based on a quest for nuclear superiority, it adds to the larger international concern about the security of this fissile material and the weapons in a country as infiltrated by terrorist organisations as Pakistan today is. China cannot hope to remain untouched by this threat which could well assume more threatening dimensions in the future. China’s Xinjiang with its links with *jihadi* organisations in Pakistan is equally a vulnerable spot for China as far as such risks are concerned. India must utilise every forum or opportunity to highlight the dangers from Pakistan’s support for fundamentalist terrorism for China too, especially if they were to spill into the nuclear realm.

### **DANGERS FROM TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS**

Pakistan is today believed to have the fastest growing nuclear arsenal and quite a lot of this is courtesy China. The uranium enrichment capability of Pakistan may have arisen from the stolen designs of URENCO that A. Q. Khan brought along with him, but the initial feedstock of enriched uranium was made available from China. Meanwhile, the route to plutonium-based nuclear weapons has also been enabled by China through the setting up of the Khushab reactors. Since less quantity of plutonium is required for crafting the bomb, it becomes possible to reduce the weight of the weapon and thereby change the parameters of the delivery systems. In the course of the last couple of years, Pakistan has tested the very short range ballistic missile, Nasr, several times, thereby indicating a propensity for tactical nuclear weapons. In Pakistani strategy, these weapons are considered essential to counter the possibility of shallow thrusts by Indian troops into Pakistani territory. But the existential risks of

---

10. Ashis Ray, “Pakistan’s Nukes Face Threat from Army Insiders” *The Times of India*, January 21, 2013.

command and control that accompany tactical nuclear weapons are also well known. As the authority to launch these missiles must rest with lower levels of command, the chances of an unauthorised, mistaken or accidental launch increase.

Many have questioned the capability of Pakistan to miniaturise its nuclear weapons enough to mount them on a very short range missile. But with the help of China, which is known to have this capability, it cannot be an impossible task. It is still not known whether China has already lent a helping hand to Pakistan in this regard. But, it is imperative that the dangers to regional security from the induction of tactical nuclear weapons be highlighted at every level – bilateral and multilateral. The dangers of a lax command and control cannot be a source of any complacency for China either.

## CONCLUSION

The three issues highlighted above could bring out the differences in the relationship between China and Pakistan. While their perception of a common threat in India and the USA is likely to persist and sustain the strategic embrace, an increase in risks for China from the domestic state of Pakistan and the inability of Islamabad to sufficiently reassure Beijing that the terrorism that it has long nurtured would not hurt Chinese interests could create cracks in the relationship.

While China is certainly aware of these risks, India must highlight them even further and given the politico-economic upswing in its own relationship with China, it should take every opportunity to bring out the cost benefit analysis of its own relationship with China vis-a-vis that it has with Pakistan. If India-China relations improve across all fronts, the strategic logic of the Sino-Pak nexus weakens. Given the economic opportunities that India offers to China, the scales can be tilted, not easily, but they can, in favour of getting Beijing to accept the concerns that Pakistan poses. For instance, it is a fact that the worsening security situation in Sindh had led Kingho, the largest private Chinese mining firm, to withdraw its plans for a nearly \$20 billion project for development of coal mines and power plants.<sup>11</sup>

In contrast, China's trade relationship with India has touched a new high of \$75.6 billion in 2012. The *People's Daily*, a prominent

---

11. Evan A Feigenbaum, "China's Pakistan Conundrum", *Foreign Affairs*, December 2011.

Chinese daily, described 2012 as the “least problematic year in India-China ties”.<sup>12</sup> As pointed out by a Chinese analyst, “China’s support of Pakistan’s position signals its political intent rather than an unswerving commitment... which explains Beijing’s largely moral and political support rather than direct military involvement...”<sup>13</sup> It is for India’s diplomacy to absorb this reality and make the necessary moves.

---

12. “India-China Ties Showing New Characteristics: China Daily”, *The Economic Times*, January 18, 2013.

13. Jingdong Yuan, “Beijing’s Balancing Act: Courting New Delhi, Reassuring Islamabad”, *Journal of International Affairs*, vol. 64, no.2, Spring-Summer 2011, p. 41.



# NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Articles submitted to *Defence and Diplomacy* should be original contributions and should not be under consideration for any other publication at the same time. If another version of the article is under consideration by another publication, or has been, or will be published elsewhere, authors should clearly indicate this at the time of submission.

Each typescript should be submitted in duplicate. Articles should be typewritten on A4/ Letter paper, on one side only, **double-spaced (including the notes)** and with ample margins. All pages (including those containing only diagrams and tables) should be numbered consecutively. There is no standard length for articles, but 3,000 to 3,500 words (including notes and references) is a useful target. The article should begin with an indented summary of around 100 words, which should describe the main arguments and conclusions of the article.

Details of the author's institutional affiliations, full address and other contact information should be included on a separate cover sheet. Any acknowledgements should be included on the cover sheet as should a note of the exact length of the article.

All diagrams, charts and graphs should be referred to as figure and consecutively numbered. Tables should be kept to a minimum and contain only essential data. Each figure and table must be given an Arabic numeral, followed by a heading, and be referred to in the text.

Articles should be submitted on high-density 3~ inch virus free disks (IBM PC) in rich text format (RTF) together with **an exactly matching double-spaced hard copy** to facilitate typesetting; notes should be placed at the end of each page. Any diagrams or maps should be copied to a separate disk separately in uncompressed TIF or JPG formats in individual files. These should be prepared in black and white. Tints should be avoided, use open patterns instead. If maps and diagrams cannot be prepared electronically, they should be presented on good quality white paper. Each disk should be labelled with the journal's name, article title, author's name and software used. It is the author's responsibility to ensure that where copyright materials are included within an article, the permission of the copyright holder has been obtained. Confirmation of this should be included on a separate sheet included with the disk.

Copyright in articles published in *Defence and Diplomacy* rests with the publisher.

## STYLE

**Authors are responsible for ensuring that their manuscripts conform to the journal style.** The Editors will not undertake retyping of manuscripts before publication. A guide to style and presentation is obtainable from the publisher.

The style should be followed closely. Dates in the form January 1, 2000. Use figures for 11 and above. British spellings are to be used. Authors should provide brief biographical details to include institutional affiliation and recent publications for inclusion in About the Contributors. Sub-headings and sub-sub-headings should be unambiguously marked on the copy.

## NOTES

Notes should be **double spaced** and numbered consecutively through the article. **The first line of a note must align with subsequent lines. Each note number should be standard size and have a full point.**

- a) References to books should give author's name: title of the book (*italics*); and the place, publisher and date of publication in brackets.  
e.g. I. Samuel P. Huntington, *The Common Defense* (NY: Columbia UP, 1961), Ch. 2, pp. 14-18.
- b) References to articles in periodicals should give the author's initials and surname, the title of the article in quotation marks, title of the periodical (*italics*), the number of the volume/issue in Arabic numerals, the date of publication, and the page numbers:  
e.g., Douglas M. Fox, "Congress and the US Military Service Budgets in the Post War Period," *Midwest Journal of Political Science*, vol. 16, no. 2, May 1971, pp. 382-393.





# DEFENCE AND DIPLOMACY

---

IN PURSUIT OF NATIONAL SECURITY

Centre for Air Power Studies

P-284, Arjan Path, Subroto Park, New Delhi 110010

---



# DEFENCE AND DIPLOMACY

---

IN PURSUIT OF NATIONAL SECURITY

Centre for Air Power Studies

P-284, Arjan Path, Subroto Park, New Delhi 110010

# DEFENCE AND DIPLOMACY Journal



## SUBSCRIPTION FORM

---

### In India

- Rs. 225/- per copy  
 Rs. 800/- per annum (4 Issues)

### Overseas

- US \$ 35 per copy  
 US \$ 130 per annum (4 Issues)

PLEASE PRINT

Name.....

Complete Address.....

.....

.....

..... Pin..... Phone .....

Please find enclosed cheque/draft number: dated..... drawn  
on..... favouring KW Publishers Pvt. Ltd.,  
for Rs US\$ .....

Please mail this form to: KW Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 4676/21, Ansari Road, Daryaganj  
New Delhi 110 002 T: +91.11.23263498 / 43528107  
E: [knowledgeworld@vsnl.net](mailto:knowledgeworld@vsnl.net) W: [www.kwpub.com](http://www.kwpub.com)

---

# DEFENCE AND DIPLOMACY Journal



## SUBSCRIPTION FORM

---

### In India

- Rs. 225/- per copy  
 Rs. 800/- per annum (4 Issues)

### Overseas

- US \$ 35 per copy  
 US \$ 130 per annum (4 Issues)

PLEASE PRINT

Name.....

Complete Address.....

.....

.....

..... Pin..... Phone .....

Please find enclosed cheque/draft number: dated..... drawn  
on..... favouring KW Publishers Pvt. Ltd.,  
for Rs US\$ .....

Please mail this form to: KW Publishers Pvt. Ltd., 4676/21, Ansari Road, Daryaganj  
New Delhi 110 002 T: +91.11.23263498 / 43528107  
E: [knowledgeworld@vsnl.net](mailto:knowledgeworld@vsnl.net) W: [www.kwpub.com](http://www.kwpub.com)